The Church Historical Society.

# ANOINTING OF THE SICK

## IN SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION, WITH SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NUMBERING OF THE SACRAMENTS

REV. F. W. PULLER, M.A.

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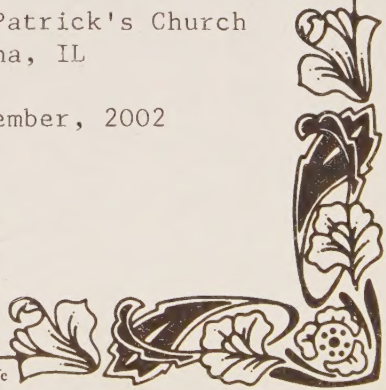

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LXXVII.

# *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition, with some Considerations on the Numbering of the Sacraments.*

WITHDRAWN

BY

F. W. PULLER, M.A.

OF THE SOCIETY OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, COWLEY.

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# PREFACE.

In the winter of 1902–3, at the invitation of Father Waggett, the Superior of the Westminster House of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, I delivered a course of four lectures on the Anointing of the Sick in the Chapel of that House.

These four lectures are contained in this book, but they have been enlarged and annotated; and the subject has, I hope, been further elucidated by the addition of five *Appendices*.

The committee of the Church Historical Society very kindly requested me to allow them to publish my lectures in the form of a book. I gladly consented, on condition that I might be allowed to make such additions to them as might seem on consideration to be desirable before they were put into print.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state here explicitly what would be in any case obvious, namely that the interest of the Church Historical Society in the lectures lies in the investigation of the history of the doctrine and practice of Unction, which constitutes the larger part of the book; and that, as a Society, it has no official views about the advantage or disadvantage of reviving the primitive use of Unction in the Church of England at the present time.

Similarly, it should be thoroughly understood that the Society of S. John the Evangelist is not to be held responsible for any of the statements and reasonings here set forth, nor for the conclusions drawn from them.

I have done what I could to give a true account of the teaching of Scripture and Tradition on this

somewhat neglected subject. But I am well aware that it is quite possible that through ignorance I may have passed over facts which ought to have been stated, or may have made mistakes in forming an estimate of the doctrinal or practical conclusions implied by the facts. I can truly say that I shall welcome any additional light that can be thrown on the matter by those who may differ from me on the one side or the other.

I should wish to express here my gratitude to several kind friends who have given me help. I owe much to criticisms and suggestions made by the members of the committee of the Church Historical Society, and very specially to the Bishop of Gibraltar, who until quite lately was its chairman. I am also deeply indebted to Mr. Brightman of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took the trouble to read over the greater part of the proof-sheets. I would also thank Dr. Margoliouth, and Dr. Burney of S. John's College, Oxford, and Mr. Cowley of Magdalen and of the Bodleian Library, without whose aid it would have been hardly possible for me to discuss with any sense of security the evidence of S. Ephraim and of Rabbûla in the second Appendix. In the course of the pages which follow I have acknowledged the help that I have received from other friends, who have charitably supplied me with information.

In sending the book forth, I most earnestly pray that what I have written may be of some little service to the Church of God.

F. W. P.

The Mission House, Cowley S. John, Oxford,
*March* 26, 1904.

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# THE ANOINTING OF THE SICK.

## CHAPTER I.

### The Teaching of Holy Scripture.

The Anointing of the Sick is the subject which I have undertaken to discuss in this treatise. There are reasons for drawing the attention of Churchmen to this matter at the present time; and for making an attempt to set before them the evidence of Scripture and tradition with such moderate fullness as may enable them to ascertain without much difficulty, and yet securely, the purpose of this rite, as it was delivered by the Apostles to the first generation of believers, and as it was practised by the Church during the best and purest ages of her history.

Besides its intrinsic interest, it will be found, I think, that the consideration of this matter brings to the front some important considerations bearing on the rule of faith, which were perhaps more familiar to the

great theologians and saints whom God in His mercy raised up seventy years ago to repair the breaches of our Sion, than they are to many of the younger generation of English Churchmen in the present day.

It is allowed on all hands that there are not more than two passages in the New Testament which mention any anointing of the sick—namely, S. Mark vi. 13, and S. James v. 13–16. Many writers would draw a very marked distinction between these two passages, and would say that the first passage dealt with a very different sort of unction from that which is mentioned in the second passage; but all would admit that no third passage can be quoted from the New Testament, which makes any allusion to any unction of the sick whatsoever.

It will be well, therefore, to begin our consideration of this matter by citing the two passages to which reference has been made; and I will quote them in Greek and English, using Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek text and the Revised Version for the English.

In the first passage S. Mark is describing what the Apostles did, when they went on their first preaching tour through Galilee during the period of our Lord's public minis-

try. After mentioning other things, S. Mark says: Καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλλον, καὶ ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευον. In the Revisers' English the passage runs thus: "And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."

In the second and more important passage, S. James is giving sundry practical exhortations to various classes of persons. He says: v. 13 Κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν: προσευχέσθω· εὐθυμεῖ τις; ψαλλέτω. v. 14 Ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου. v. 15 Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος. κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ. v. 16 Ἐξομολογεῖσθε οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ εὔχεσθε[1] ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, ὅπως ἰαθῆτε· πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη. The Revisers have translated the passage thus: v. 13, "Is any among you suffering? let him pray. Is any cheerful? let him sing praise. v. 14, Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: v. 15, and the prayer of faith shall

[1] Westcott and Hort read in their text προσεύχεσθε.

save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him. v. 16, Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed. The supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working."

As regards the first of these two passages, the passage from S. Mark's Gospel, it is now almost universally admitted—at any rate in the West—that when the Apostles anointed the sick with oil and healed them in the days of our Lord's ministry, they were not administering a rite which sacramentally conveyed sanctifying grace to the souls of those who were being anointed; they were by means of the oil, coupled no doubt with prayer, supernaturally imparting to these sick persons the gift of physical health. The Council of Trent, in the first chapter of its decree "on the sacrament of Extreme Unction," declares that "this sacred Unction of the sick was instituted by Christ our Lord as a sacrament of the New Testament truly and properly so called," and it goes on to say that this sacrament "was indeed *insinuated* by S. Mark in his Gospel, but was *commended to the faithful* and *promulgated* through the instrumentality of

S. James, the Apostle and brother of the Lord": "apud Marcum quidem *insinuatum*, per Iacobum autem Apostolum, ac Domini fratrem, fidelibus *commendatum*, ac *promulgatum*[1]." Here we must note that the Council carefully distinguishes between the relation of the Unction recorded by *S. Mark* to its own sacrament of Extreme Unction, and the relation of the Unction spoken of by *S. James* to that same sacrament. S. Mark, according to the Tridentine teaching, only *insinuates* the sacrament, while S. James *promulgates* it and *commends* it to the faithful. Cardinal Bellarmine, commenting on the word "*insinuatum*," as used by the Council in this passage, tells us that a thing is said to be insinuated, which is not expressly set forth, but is only represented in outline and obscurely indicated[2]. He points out that in the days of their preaching tour through Galilee the Apostles had not as yet been ordained to the priesthood, and that the sick persons whom they anointed must have been as a rule unbaptized persons, persons

[1] Concil. Trident. Sess. xiv, *De Sacram. Extr. Unct.* cap. i, *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.* ed. Le Plat, 1779, p. 145.

[2] Bellarmine, *de Extr. Unct.* Lib. i. cap. ii, *Opp.* ed. Venet. 1721, tom. iii. p. 598.

who were therefore incapable of receiving the sacrament of Unction. He therefore concludes that the Unction recorded by S. Mark was administered solely, or at any rate chiefly, for the curing of bodily disease, and was therefore not a sacrament; for sacraments *per se*, he says, have to do with the soul, and if they in any way have to do with the body, it is "per accidens aut certe secundario." Suarez comes to a similar conclusion [1], and most modern Roman Catholic divines, including De Augustinis, S. J., recently Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Gregorian University at Rome [2], do the like. It will be clear to any one, who reads the passage from S. Mark with attention, that he says nothing about any gift of sanctifying grace imparted through the oil. He mentions no effect besides the healing of the sick.

Setting aside, therefore, for the present the passage from S. Mark, we must proceed to consider carefully the teaching of S. James in that section of his fifth chapter which has been quoted above.

[1] Cf. Suarez, Disp. xxxix, *de Extr. Unct.* sect. 1, *Opp.*, ed. 1748, Venet., xix. 426.

[2] Cf. De Augustinis, *de Re Sacramentaria*, tom. ii. pp. 348–350 (ed. Rom. 1887).

What S. James says about the ministrations of the Presbyters to the sick is clearly divisible into two parts. He first deals with the case of sick persons generally, and then he goes on to deal with the case of sick persons who have committed sins. S. James says first: "Is any one *sick* among you? let him call for the elders of the Church"; and then their ministrations to and for the sick man are described. Then, when we come to the second division of the section, S. James says: "And *if* he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him." The gift of forgiveness is not promised to all the sick, but only to a certain class, those namely among the sick who, in the sense of S. James in this passage, have committed sins[1].

For the present I confine myself to the first division of the section. The Apostle says: "Is any one among *you* sick?" S. James's exhortations are intended for sick *Christians*, not for sick *heathen*. "Let him call for the

[1] I see no reason for departing from the hypothetical meaning of the word κἂν, as it was understood by the translators of the A.V. and by the Revisers, and apparently also by the translators of the Old Latin Version and by S. Jerome. The Corbey Old Latin has "et si peccata fecit, remittuntur ei." The ordinary Clementine Vulgate, agreeing here with the *codex Amiatinus*, has "et si in peccatis sit."

*elders of the Church.*" These are, evidently, ordained ministers, not lay Christians of mature age. The whole context supports that view of the matter [1]. "And let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save (σώσει) him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up (ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν)." The normal meaning of the word σώζειν in Greek literature is—as Liddell and Scott tell us—"to save from death, keep alive." When the word is used of persons suffering from disease, it normally means "to heal, restore to health." The word is often used in this, its normal meaning,

[1] To me this view of the matter seems too plain to need discussion. However, it may perhaps be well to add that it is the explanation given by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, by Dean Alford, by Dean Scott of Rochester (in the *Speaker's Commentary*), by Dr. Mayor, by Dr. Punchard (in Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary for English Readers*), and by Dr. Paton Gloag (in Dr. Philip Schaff's *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*). I mention the opinion of these writers, because their commentaries on S. James's Epistle happen to be the only ones written in English that I have at hand while writing this note. And surely *aged laymen* would not have been styled "*the* presbyters *of the Church.*" And if S. James wished laymen to be summoned to heal the sick, why should they be only men of advanced years? Were there no younger men with the gift of healing? I say nothing here about the imparting of the gift of Absolution, to which S. James refers in verse 15.

by the writers of the New Testament. So, when the woman with the issue of blood touched the border of our Lord's garment, she said: "If I do but touch His garment, I shall be made whole" (σωθήσομαι). And our Lord, turning and seeing her, said: "Daughter, be of good cheer; thy faith hath made thee whole" (ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε). "And the woman was made whole (ἐσώθη) from that hour[1]." Here, in the course of two verses, the word σώζειν is used three times of the healing of the body. Similarly in Acts iv. 9, S. Peter, speaking to Annas, the high priest, and the other Jewish rulers about the healing of the lame man in the temple, uses the words: "If we, this day, are examined . . . by what means this man has been made whole" (σέσωσται). But it would be wearisome if I were to quote all the instances of this use of σώζειν in the New Testament. It is enough to refer to S. Mark v. 34; x. 52; S. Luke viii. 48; xvii. 19; xviii. 42; S. John xi. 12; Acts xiv. 9; besides other places. Almost all these passages occur in accounts of miracles of healing.

No doubt there are many other passages in the New Testament in which the word σώζειν is used in a sense unknown to pre-

[1] S. Matt. ix. 21, 22.

Christian Greek literature. In such passages the word denotes salvation through Christ, that is to say, salvation from sin, and from the power of Satan, and from the wrath of God, and from the state of spiritual death. But in this earlier part of the passage in S. James, the Apostle is dealing with sick Christians in general, not with sick Christians who have lapsed into the state of sin. He will consider *their* case later on. It seems, therefore, obvious that here the word σώζειν must be given the meaning which ordinarily belongs to it, when it is used of sick persons. And this is admitted even by Roman Catholic divines, as for example by Cardinal Bellarmine, and by Sainte Beuve [1], a learned French theologian of the seventeenth century. Probably, however, most Roman Catholic writers, while admitting that the obvious meaning of the word σώζειν here refers to bodily healing, nevertheless feel bound to claim that the salvation of the soul is included in it. Thus the great Estius, in his Commentary on S. James, writes as follows: "By the word σώσει is signified bodily health, according to

[1] Cf. Bellarmine, *de Extr. Unct.* cap. viii ad fin., *Opp.* ed. 1721, tom. iii. p. 605, and Sainte-Beuve, *Tractatus de Sacram. Unct. Inf. Extr.*, ed. 1778, Lovan., p. 36.

the exposition of nearly all interpreters. For, since the Apostle is speaking of *corporal* sickness, it is natural to understand the word σώσει, which follows, of a deliverance wrought in the same order of things; not, however, excluding a reference to the salvation and healing of the soul; especially because the health of the body is to be referred here to the health of the soul." This last clause of Estius's interpretation seems to me to be a strained attempt to combine two very different meanings under one word, without any necessity for so doing, and without any indication in the context pointing to such a double interpretation. However, I welcome Estius's assertion that nearly all interpreters expound the word σώσει as signifying primarily in this passage restoration to bodily health.

What I have written about the word σώζειν will very largely apply to the word ἐγείρειν as used by S. James in the section which we are considering. The Apostle says: "Is any one among you sick? let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord *shall*

*raise him up.*" Here S. James's expression—which corresponds with the English words "shall raise him up"—is ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν. And the word ἐγείρειν is a word which is used over and over again by the writers of the New Testament in their accounts of miracles of healing. In the active voice the word ἐγείρειν means *to cause to rise.* The exact shade of meaning in this or that passage depends on the context. Sometimes the word means *to rouse from sleep*; sometimes *to raise from the dead*; sometimes *to raise up* from a seat or a bed or from the ground; this naturally brings in its use in connexion with the recovery of those who have been "down" with disease, lying sick. So our Lord, before healing the man sick of the palsy, said to the scribes: "Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Arise (ἔγειρε) and walk?" And in the next verse we read that our Lord actually said to the sick of the palsy: "Arise (ἐγερθείς) and take up thy bed [1]." So S. Luke tells us how S. Peter took the impotent man by the right hand, "and raised him up" (ἤγειρεν αὐτόν)[2]. And compare S. Mark ix. 27; S. Matt. viii. 15; S. John v. 8 [3].

[1] S. Matt. ix. 5, 6. [2] Acts iii. 7.

[3] In the concluding prayer of the *Ordo ministrandi*

Roman Catholic writers usually say that the word ἐγερεῖ in S. James v. 15 conveys the notion that Christ will *comfort* the soul of the sick man by the grace given through the sacrament of Unction, so as to help him to meet the difficulties connected with the act of dying. That is Suarez's view[1], and it is followed by De Augustinis[2], and they are really in this matter reproducing the teaching of the Tridentine decree. But I know of no passage of the New Testament in which the word ἐγείρειν means "*to comfort*," whereas it is used, as I have shown, over and over again, of raising up sick men from their bed of sickness. Probably Roman Catholic writers have been set upon the wrong track by the Latin word "alleviabit" which occurs in the Vulgate rendering of this passage[3] as

*sacramentum Extremae Unctionis* in the *Rituale Romanum* (see p. 339 of this volume), the Priest, addressing the Eternal Father, prays thus: "Ad invocationem tui Nominis benignus assiste; ut famulum tuum ab aegritudine liberatum, et sanitate donatum, *dextera tua erigas*, virtute confirmes, potestate tuearis, atque Ecclesiae tuae sanctae, cum omni desiderata prosperitate, restituas." Here the *dextera tua erigas* exactly corresponds with the ἐγερεῖ of S. James.

[1] Cf. Suarez, Disp. xli, *de Extr. Unct.* sect. I. assert. i, *Opp.* xix. 438.

[2] Cf. De Augustinis, *de Re Sacramentaria*, tom. ii. p. 390.

[3] But the earlier reading in the Vulgate, as it is to be

the translation of ἐγερεῖ. In the older Latin translation, used by Pope Innocent I in his letter to Decentius of Eugubium, the word ἐγερεῖ is represented by "suscitabit[1]," a very much more accurate rendering. If S. Jerome had retained "suscitabit" in the Vulgate, or if the mediaeval copyists had refrained from changing S. Jerome's "allevabit" into "alleviabit," a good deal of very doubtful Latin teaching about the effect of Unction would probably never have been written. The corrections made by the revisers of translations of the Bible are not always and in every instance improvements. To give a well-known example, S. Jerome was unfortunate, when he changed Jonah's *gourd* into Jonah's *ivy*, substituting *hedera*, which was a mistake, for *cucurbita*, which was right.

On the whole the first section of S. James's exhortation to the sick may be thus translated, so as to give the Apostle's meaning without any ambiguity: "Is any one among you sick? let him call for the Presbyters of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him

found in the *codex Amiatinus*, was "allevabit," a word much less liable to suggest a wrong interpretation.

[1] S. Innocent. *Ep.* xxv. *ad Decentium*, cap. viii, *P. L.* xx. 560. In the Corbey S. James the reading is "suscitavit," evidently a mistake for "suscitabit."

with oil in the Name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith *shall restore to health* him that is ailing, and the Lord *will cause him to recover*[1]." Further on in this book I shall, I hope, show that the translation of S. James's words, given above, is confirmed by the witness of the Eastern Church during the whole course of its history, and also by the earlier Latin Christian writers[2].

I pass on now to deal with the second division of the passage from S. James's Epistle, which we are considering. The Apostle goes on to say: "And if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him. Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed." As before, I have quoted the English words from the Revised Version. In the Authorized Version the opening clause of the sixteenth verse is worded somewhat differently. Instead of the words, "Confess *therefore* your *sins* one to another," we read in the Authorized Version, "Confess your *faults* one to another." It will be noticed that the Revisers have introduced the word "therefore"—"Confess *therefore*"; and they have substituted the word "sins" for the word "faults." The

[1] Compare Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, p. 256, ed. 1902.

[2] See pp. 233–5.

fact is that the Authorized Version follows the *Textus receptus*, which reads: Ἐξομολογεῖσθε ἀλλήλοις τὰ παραπτώματα. Whereas the Revised Version follows the reading which is favoured by the older uncial MSS. and by the majority of the older versions, and is therefore adopted by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and also by Westcott and Hort. These authorities read: Ἐξομολογεῖσθε οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας[1]. There can, I think, be no doubt that the Revisers' translation represents accurately what S. James wrote. The introduction of the particle οὖν closely connects the confession of sins mentioned in the sixteenth verse with the remission of sins spoken of in the fifteenth verse; and this close connexion is emphasized by the reappearance of the word ἁμαρτίας in the sixteenth verse—the very word which had

[1] The Vatican, Sinaitic, Alexandrine, and Moscow MSS., and also the Porfirian palimpsest, all of them Uncials, insert the οὖν. Among the Uncials, only the *codex* of the *bibliotheca Angelica* at Rome omits it. Among the versions, the Vulgate, the Sahidic, the Bohairic, and the Philoxenian Syriac testify in favour of the οὖν; while on the other side must be reckoned the witness of the Old Latin (as it appears in the Corbey *codex* of S. James's Epistle), the Armenian, and the Ethiopic. The Peshiṭṭâ is based on MSS. in which δέ had been substituted for οὖν.

been used in the fifteenth verse. Accepting the reading of the great Uncials, I point out that we must so interpret the last clause of the fifteenth verse—"If he have committed sins, it shall be remitted to him"—as to make it natural for S. James to draw from that clause the conclusion that it is right for Christians to confess to their fellow men not merely their faults (*παραπτώματα*) but their sins (*ἁμαρτίας*). It follows that in S. James's mind the principle of the confession of sins to man must be involved in the words—"If he have committed sins it shall be forgiven him."

But now let us consider more closely the words, "And if he have committed sins" (*κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς*). S. James implies in these words that not *all* the sick Christians who call for the Presbyters of the Church to come to them will have committed sins, but only *some* of them. And yet in the second verse of his third chapter he says: "In many things we *all* stumble." Clearly, in the passage which we are considering, S. James is speaking of *weightier* sins, "peccata *graviora*," sins from which by the help of God's grace many earnest Christians are able to keep themselves free. Bellarmine candidly admits the force of

this argument, or rather he *insists* on it[1]. He says that some theologians of his communion think that the proper and principal effect of the Unction of the sick is to wipe away the stains of *venial* sins. But, refuting that view, he urges that, if S. James had meant to teach it, "he would not have said 'If he have committed sins, they shall be remitted to him.' For all men have venial sins: and, as the same Apostle says in his third chapter, 'In many things we all stumble.'" Bellarmine's argument on this point seems to me to be very strong, and I fully adhere to it. I should be ready to apply to this passage what Bishop Bull said of S. John's words—"*If* any man sin (ἐάν τις ἁμάρτῃ), we have an Advocate with the Father[2]." Concerning those words Bishop Bull says: "It is clear enough that the Apostle is speaking of the weightier sins, and those which are more properly denominated sins. This is shown by his conditional and uncertain manner of speech, ἐάν τις ἁμάρτῃ. For certainly

[1] Cf. Bellarm. *de Extr. Unct.* cap. viii, *Opp.* ed. 1721, tom. iii. p. 604. Dr. Ignatius Schmitz (*De Effectibus Sacramenti Extremae Unctionis*, Friburg. Brisgov., 1893, p. 71) says: "Locutio S. Iacobi . . ., quam vere esse conditionatam iam supra vidimus, magis de peccatis mortalibus quam de venialibus, quippe quae semper fere in homine adsint, intelligenda est."

[2] 1 S. John ii. 1.

he would have spoken otherwise, if he had intended to refer to the sins to which even the best persons are liable during this life, and concerning which S. James says: 'In many things we all stumble[1].'" This, then, is my first conclusion concerning S. James's words, "*If* he have committed sins"—namely, that the Apostle is speaking of a Christian man who has fallen into one or more *peccata graviora*[2].

And my second conclusion is this, that S. James is speaking of weighty sins, which have not *yet* been forgiven. He does not say κἂν ἁμάρτῃ, but κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς. Here the perfect participle, πεποιηκώς, implies a past act of which the effect remains. That is the normal force of the perfect tense in Greek. As it appears to me, the full meaning of S. James's words may be expressed as follows:

[1] Bull, *Exam. Cens.* Append. ad Exam. Animadv. xvii, sect. 22, *Works*, ed. Burton, 1846, vol. iv. p. 232.

[2] Similarly, Dr. A. J. Mason, in his article on The Power of the Keys (Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 31), says, speaking of this passage—"'If he have committed sins,' i.e. obviously, grave and marked sins." And to much the same effect Thorndike in his *Laws of the Church* (chap. xii, *Works*, ed. 1852, vol. iv. p. 275) had said—"Therefore those sins, which S. James directs the priests to pray for, are such as for the weight of them must resort to the keys of the Church for their cure."

"And if he be in the state of having committed weighty sins in the past, the effects of which remain." Moreover, these effects which remain are no mere *reliquiae* or surviving effects of deadly sins which have long ago been remitted. The sins are still waiting for remission; that is the very boon which the Apostle is going to promise; so that what S. James really means to say concerning the sick man is: "If he be in the state of sin." And then what follows? ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ—"remission shall be imparted to him." The verb ἀφεθήσεται is impersonal, and is best translated as above[1]. But how is this gift of remission to be imparted? Obviously through the ministrations of the Presbyters. S. James has told the sick Christian that the first thing that he has to do from a religious point of view is to summon the Presbyters of the Church. They are to come and minister to him. S. James speaks first of their ministrations concerning the man's

[1] Dr. Henry Hammond, in his Annotations on S. James, v. 15 (*Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament*, ed. 1845, iv. 398), has some good remarks on ἀφεθήσεται. And Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, in his notes on the same passage of S. James's Epistle (*Works*, ed. 1859, vi. 677), says: "'*If he have committed sins*' against God, these are to be confessed to the Elders of the Church; and ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, he shall be absolved; or, Absolution shall be given him, i.e. upon his confession."

*physical sickness.* It may be a sickness of body, or it may be a sickness of mind. He may be afflicted with melancholia or hysteria or madness [1]; or, on the other hand, he may have a cancer or a fever or some other form of bodily disease. The Presbyters are to pray in faith and anoint the man with oil. And the Lord JESUS, if He sees fit, if the conditions for effectual prayer are not wanting, if the prayer is inspired by the Holy Ghost, will bless the ministrations of His servants, and will make the man whole by their means.

It is not because S. James regards the healing of physical disease as the matter of greatest importance, that he speaks *first* of the presbyteral ministrations which have reference to the physical sickness. On the contrary, an Apostle would regard physical healing as immeasurably less important than the putting away of sin. But he speaks *first* of the physical healing, because, from his point of view, *all* sick men have sickness, but only *some* have on their consciences sins which need the ministrations of the Presbyters. But obviously, if it is the duty of the Presbyters to deal with the physical sickness, much more

[1] I am told that probably all such mental diseases are connected with morbid conditions of the body.

is it their duty to deal with any grievous sickness of sin, if in any case such grievous sickness exists in connexion with the sick person whom they have come to visit. How are they to know whether it exists? and how are they to know whether the sinful person is in a fit state for remission to be imparted to him? In most cases they cannot know of the existence of the state of sin; unless the sins which have resulted in that state are confessed to them. And even if they know of the man's sins from rumour or in some other way, they cannot minister remission to him, unless he himself confesses his sins in their presence. He is a baptized Christian man, and not a heathen; and therefore, until he confesses his sins, or until his sin is in some way proved, he is presumably a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. The Presbyters cannot deal with the man's sin in the way of remitting it, until the man has submitted himself to the keys of the Church, and has in penitence explained how he has come to need that they should be used on his behalf. It was through the ministrations of the Church that he received his baptismal remission, and now he must make it clear why

he has summoned the Presbyters to restore him again to the baptismal state of grace, from which he has *ex hypothesi* fallen.

Of course the Christians, to whom S. James wrote, knew well that our Lord had committed to His Church the power of remitting sins. They knew well that, after the great redemption had been wrought out on the Cross, the very first words that our Lord uttered to His Church, when He visited the assembled Apostles on the evening of the day of His resurrection, were the consecrating words of power: "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them (*ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς*); whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained[1]." Through that commission the Church had received for all time the power of ministering to sin-sick and penitent souls the gift of the *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*; and through all the ages of the Church's history that power has been exercised through her ordained Bishops and Presbyters, though with very great variations in the details of the discipline, and in the character of the sins to which it was thought well that the discipline should

[1] S. John xx. 21–23.

be applied. But when the gift has been ministered by the Church to Christians who have lapsed into the state of deadly sin, it has been ministered after the sinner has humbly and penitently confessed his sins. That the Church has received power to remit sins, and that normally the sins, which are to be so remitted, need to be confessed, these are elementary principles of the Gospel, which in an Apostolic epistle addressed to members of the Church did not need to be explained at length. When S. James, in the course of a description of the ministrations of the Presbyters by the bedside of the sick Christian, says that "if the sick man have fallen into the state of sin, remission shall be imparted to him," those to whom the Apostle wrote would understand that the sick man is assumed to have manifested contrition, and to have confessed those weightier sins, which were endangering his soul, to the Presbyters [1], and to have then received from them

[1] Dr. Nathaniel Marshall (*Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*, ed. 1844, chap. ii. pp. 79-81), writing about S. James v. 14-16, says: "I cannot help understanding S. James as having here in his view the process of clinical Penance." Marshall, who was a Canon of Windsor in the reign of George II, is no doubt referring in this passage to the penitential discipline and to the

the Absolution, precatory, no doubt, in its form, which would be ratified on high, and would therefore convey to the penitent the cleansing virtue of our Lord's precious Blood.

As I said before, the principle of the confession of sins by the lapsed sick person to his fellow men is undoubtedly involved in the words, "If he have committed sins, remission shall be imparted to him." We arrived at that conclusion before, by arguing back from the words in the sixteenth verse, "Confess, therefore, your sins one to another." We have confirmed that conclusion now, by considering the clause of the fifteenth verse in its context. The two arguments, which are quite independent, mutually corroborate each other.

exercise of the power of the keys, *as they were carried out* for the benefit of sick penitents *in the apostolic age*. I make this remark, because it has come lately to my knowledge that any mention of Penance suggests to some minds some special development of penitential discipline, peculiar to some relatively late period of the Church's history. To some the word suggests the discipline of the fourth century, to others that of the fourteenth, to others that of the twentieth. I know no ground for any such limitations of the meaning of the word; and any how, in this book I use it to denote *the substance* of the ordinance, which substance belongs to all the Christian ages, because it is apostolic and Divine. This substance certainly included confession to the Church (see Bishop Westcott's note on 1 S. John i. 9) and absolution by the Church (see S. John xx. 23).

The Apostle *naturally* passes on from the account of the ministrations of the Presbyters, which culminate in the precatory Absolution of the penitent, to lay down the general precept, "Confess, therefore, your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." Even Dean Alford, who was very far removed from being what is popularly known as a good Catholic (he was, in fact, a member of the Evangelical Alliance)—yet even *he*, commenting on the words, "Confess, therefore," and what follows, describes those words as "a general injunction arising out of a circumstance necessarily to be inferred in the preceding example. *There* the sin would of necessity have been confessed to the πρεσβύτεροι, before the prayer of faith could deal with it. And—seeing the blessed consequences in that case—generally, says the Apostle, in all similar cases, 'and one to another universally, pursue the same salutary practice of confessing your sins.'" I have quoted this passage from Alford, not because I should have myself worded it exactly as he has worded it, but because it bears clear testimony, and, as coming from Alford, very *forcible* testimony to two facts. First, that S. James gives a general injunction to those

who, in his sense, have committed sins, to confess them to *man*. And secondly, that the Apostle seems to be led to formulate this general injunction by reason of a fact which must necessarily be inferred from what he had said in the preceding verses—the fact, namely, that the sick man must have confessed his sins to the Presbyters before they could deal with those sins. If those two facts were more universally recognized, we should, I think, be spared much foolish talk about the unscriptural character of the Church's teaching concerning confession and absolution. I am not directly dealing with that subject at the present time, and I therefore cannot turn aside to correct some of Alford's expressions which seem to me to need correction, or at any rate explanation.

I return to the consideration of the passage from S. James, taken as a whole. From what has been said it appears that the Presbyters who have been summoned to the bedside of the sick Christian have been summoned there in some cases for only one purpose, in other cases for two purposes. They are there in *all* cases to anoint the sick man and to pray over him with the prayer of faith that, if it shall please God and be good for his soul, he may be recovered from his sickness. But in *some* cases

the sick man has primarily summoned them because he is conscious that he has fallen into deadly sins which he desires to confess in the presence of the Presbyters, and so be restored through their Absolution to the state of grace.

I can see no trace in S. James of the idea that the remission of sins is conveyed through the *Unction* to the sick persons who have lapsed through deadly sin into a state of separation from God. The Unction is mentioned in connexion with the healing and recovery of the sick man from his physical sickness. And S. James implies that in many cases the sick persons will have no need to receive any sacramental remission of sins. It follows that the Unction does not normally convey any remission of sins. Nor does S. James suggest that the Unction imparts any other sanctifying grace. That minority of sick persons who have fallen into deadly sin are to confess their sins in the presence of the Presbyters, and then receive through their ministration the benefit of Absolution.

No theologian in any part of the Church has ever suggested that the confession of sins forms any part of the administration of Unction to the sick. If S. James had intended to

teach us that the Unction imparts remission of sins, he never could have followed up such teaching by the corollary—"Confess *therefore* your sins one to another." But, on the contrary, such a corollary follows naturally on a reference to confession and Absolution or, in other words, on a reference to the sacrament of Penance.

In later times, when through a mistake the Unction was supposed to convey remission of sins as well as physical healing, neither Greeks nor Latins ventured to advise sick persons, who had fallen into deadly sin, to put their trust in any remission which the Unction could be supposed to impart. Thus the *Rituale Romanum*, in the preliminary instruction which precedes the Order for administering the sacrament of Extreme Unction, contains the following statement:

"It must be noted that, according to the general custom of the Church, if time and the condition of the sick person permit of it, the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist should be ministered to the sick *before* Extreme Unction [1]."

And, in complete accordance with the doctrine implied in this statement, Suarez says:

[1] *Rituale Romanum*, ed. 1870, Rom. p. 85.

"Normally the state of grace is a necessary disposition for receiving the Unction, and consequently he who is conscious of being in the state of deadly sin must first make his confession in a worthy way, or if he cannot get to a confessor, he must at least make an act of contrition [1]." And similarly Father De Augustinis asserts that "the common and constant doctrine of the Church is that there are only two sacraments of the dead [he means, of course, of the spiritually dead], namely Baptism and Penance: therefore Extreme Unction *per se* and so far as the primary institution of Christ is concerned, does not remit deadly sins, for, if it did, it would be a sacrament of the dead [2]." The quotations which I have given prove my point, so far as the Latin Church is concerned. As regards the modern Eastern Church it will be enough to quote Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza, formerly Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg. He cites [3] a passage from the preface to the service for the anointing with consecrated oil in the ritual of Peter

[1] Suarez, Disp. xli, *de Extr. Unct. Sacr.* sect. I. assert. ii. *Opp.*, xix. 440.

[2] De Augustinis, *De Re Sacramentaria*, tom. ii. p. 392.

[3] Macaire, *Théologie dogmatique orthodoxe*, traduction française, ed. 1860, tome ii. p. 562.

Mogila, as follows: "The Priest who wishes to administer this sacrament must remain faithful to the ancient usage of the Church—that is to say, he must take care that the sick man, before he receives the Unction, purifies himself by the sacrament of Penance—that is to say, by the confession of his sins, and it is only after that has been accomplished that he can administer this sacrament of Unction."

It is evident, therefore, that those Latin and Eastern Christians who imagine that S. James attributes to the *Unction* the power of remitting sins, nevertheless urge all those who wish to be anointed to receive remission first through the means of the sacrament of Penance.

They tell the sick that they must be in the state of grace, and spiritually alive, before they can fitly be anointed. While in *words* they profess to believe that S. James attributes the power of remission of sins to the *Unction*, and while the more intelligent of them admit that S. James is expressly speaking about the case of those who have fallen into *deadly* sin, yet in fact, they say that the Unction hardly ever does remit deadly sin, that it only does so when the sick man has unconsciously fallen into a deadly sin and is unaware of his condition. This seems a most strained and improb-

able interpretation of S. James's words. How can we suppose that S. James, when instructing sick people who have fallen into deadly sin, as to the way in which they should make their peace with God—how can we suppose, I say, that S. James would pass over the rite, in which the Church exercises the power of the keys, a power which Christ Himself instituted, and would direct their attention solely to the Anointing as a means of remission, when these writers themselves, who press this amazing theory upon us, declare that the Anointing hardly ever in fact conveys remission. The very words that S. James uses, and the sequence of his argumentation, and the fundamental principles of Catholic teaching on the subject of the remission of sins, rise up in protest against this misconception of S. James's meaning.

It is no wonder that Cardinal Cajetan, one of the princes among the later mediaeval theologians, whose commentary on the *Summa Theologica* of S. Thomas Aquinas was selected by Leo XIII as the only commentary which was to be printed along with the text in the new and splendid edition of the *Summa*, now issuing by the Pope's orders from the Propaganda Press—I say that it is no wonder that

Cajetan, himself a most firm believer in the scholastic teaching about Extreme Unction, should warn his readers that they must not attempt to base that scholastic teaching on the passage from S. James's Epistle, which we are considering. Cardinal Cajetan says [1]:

"Neither to judge from the words nor from the effect does this saying [of S. James] speak of the sacramental anointing of Extreme Unction, but rather of the Unction which the Lord JESUS appointed in the Gospel to be used by His disciples in the case of the sick. For the text does not say, Is any one sick unto death? but absolutely, Is any one sick? and it declares the effect to be the healing of the sick; and it speaks of the remission of sins only conditionally; whereas Extreme Unction is only given near the point of death, and tends directly (as the Form of it intimates) to the remission of sins."

A passage like this from such a writer as Cajetan is very cheering. It makes one hope that, some time or other, the truth about this matter will make itself universally felt, and that the mistakes which have sprung up in times of ignorance will vanish away.

I have now discussed the meaning of the passage from S. James sufficiently for my

[1] Cajetan. *Comment. in S. Iacob. Ep.*, ed. 1556, p. 419.

present purpose. We have seen that, according to S. James's teaching, the Unction with its accompanying prayers has for its object the restoration of the sick man to health; and that it conveys *ex opere operato*[1] no sanctifying grace of any sort or kind. It is in fact,

[1] As I shall have occasion to use the scholastic expression *ex opere operato* several times in the course of my argument, it will be well, for the sake of those who are unfamiliar with scholastic theology, to explain the meaning of the phrase; and I think that I cannot do this better than by quoting Newman's explanation. Newman says: "It is the teaching of the Catholic Church, that grace is given in a sacred ordinance in two ways, viz. to use the scholastic distinction, *ex opere operantis* and *ex opere operato*. Grace is given *ex opere operato*, when, the proper dispositions being supposed in the recipient, it is given through the ordinance; it is given *ex opere operantis* when, whether there be outward sign or no, the inward energetic act of the recipient is the instrument of it" (*Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, vol. i. p. 85, edit. 1891). I append here a more complete definition of the expression *ex opere operato*, by Père Billot, S. J.:—"Cum dicuntur sacramenta conferre gratiam *ex opere operato*, sensus est quod causant illam, non in quantum subsunt virtuti hominum ministrantium, neque enim in quantum nata sunt excitare in suscipiente fidem per quam ipse homo sese ad iustificationem disponeret, sed pure et simpliciter secundum quod sunt instrumenta Dei sanctificatoris, ita ut nihil aliud sub Deo considerandum sit ut causa inductionis gratiae, praeter sacramentum valide positum iuxta institutionem Christi" (Billot, *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, quaest. lxii. § 2, tom. i. p. 62, ed. Rom. 1896).

as Cardinal Cajetan points out, identical with the Unction administered by the Apostles during their first Galilaean preaching-tour. I shall go on to show in the next two chapters that this interpretation is strongly confirmed by the earlier Fathers of the Church, and also by the earlier practice of the Church.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Witness of the Fathers as to the Meaning of the Jacobean Passage about Unction.

The earliest patristic passage throwing light on the teaching of S. James about the Anointing of the sick is to be found, if I am not mistaken, in Origen's second Homily on Leviticus, a homily which was preached in the year 241 or thereabouts. After describing the different kinds of sin-offerings which were appointed under the Mosaic law, Origen proceeds to enumerate the various methods of obtaining the remission of sins which are sanctioned under the dispensation of the Gospel. He mentions first baptism, secondly martyrdom, thirdly almsgiving, fourthly forgiving our brethren their trespasses, fifthly converting a sinner from the error of his way, sixthly abundance of love. Then he goes on to say[1]:

"There is yet a seventh way to obtain remission of sins, though hard and laborious,

[1] Orig. *Hom. ii in Levit.* § 4, *Opp.* ed. 1840, Berolin. tom. ix. pp. 192, 193.

namely through Penance, when the sinner washes his bed with tears, and tears become his bread day and night; and when he is not ashamed to show his sin to the priest of the Lord, and to seek the remedy, according as the Psalmist says—'I said I will confess my sins unto the Lord; and so Thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin.' In which method that also, which the Apostle James says, is fulfilled—'If any one be sick, let him call for the Presbyters of the Church, and let them lay their hands on him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick person; and if he is in sins they shall be remitted to him.'"

Then Origen goes on to compare each of these seven Christian methods of obtaining remission with different kinds of sin-offerings appointed in the law of Moses. When he comes to the seventh method, he says:

"But if in the bitterness of thy weeping thou shouldest be worn out with grief, tears, and lamentation; if thou shalt have macerated thy flesh, and shalt have lived on dry food with fastings and much abstinence, and shalt have said 'My bones are burned as a firebrand,' then thou shalt know that thou hast offered for thy sacrifice fine flour from the baking-pan or from the frying-pan" (cf. Lev. ii. 5, 7).

Origen, when, in the course of his description

of the seventh method of obtaining remission, he quotes the passage from S. James, is obliged to quote the whole of it, because, unless he quoted the whole, the bearing of the passage on the subject which he is expounding would not be perceived. The Presbyters are mentioned at the beginning of the passage, and the forgiveness of those among the sick, who are in the state of sin, comes at the end. But the final conclusion that Origen draws is, that the passage bears witness to the sacrament of *Penance*, as being the last and most laborious method of obtaining remission of sins under the Gospel covenant. He says nothing about the effect of the *Unction*, because that was not germane to his discourse; but he evidently interprets the passage as I do, and attributes the promised remission of sins to the *Absolution* of the priests. The candid Estius admits that this is Origen's meaning[1]. He makes this admission both in his commentary on S. James, and in his commentary on the Sentences. Bellarmine also understands Origen to reckon Penance or Confession as the seventh method of obtaining remission[2]. Bishop Forbes of

[1] Cf. Estii *Comment. in Ep. S. Iacob.*, v. 15; et cf. st. *n iv Sent.* dist. 23, § 7, ed. 1616, tom. iv. pars ii. p. 8.

[2] Cf. Bellarm. lib. iii *de Poenitentia*, cap. xx, *Opp.* ed. 1721, tom. iii. p. 566, et cap. iv, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 546.

Brechin interprets Origen in a similar way[1]. Origen's witness is the more remarkable, because he is numbering up all the different methods of obtaining remission of sins under the Christian covenant. He mentions seven, and yet he finds no place among the seven for the Unction of the sick. Evidently he did not regard the Unction of the sick as a sacramental channel of remission.

Taking the Fathers who interpret the passage from S. James in chronological order, the next one in order after Origen is S. Chrysostom. It is not quite certain when S. Chrysostom wrote his treatise on the Priesthood, but we shall not be far wrong if we say that it was written about the year 381. In the sixth chapter of the third book of that treatise, the Saint is comparing the power of the priests of the Church over the people of the Church with the power of parents over their children; and he says:

"Not in chastising only, but in benefiting, God has given to priests a greater power than that of our natural parents; and the two differ as much as the present and the future life differ from each other. For our

[1] See Bp. Forbes's *Explanation of the 39 Articles*, ed. 1871, pp. 459, 460, 466.

parents beget us unto this life, and priests beget us unto that. And our parents can neither avert from us bodily death, nor repulse impending disease; but priests often heal the soul when it is sick and ready to perish, securing to some a milder punishment, and preventing others from falling in any degree; and effecting this not by teaching only and admonition, but by aiding them through prayer. And they not only have authority to forgive our sins when they regenerate us, but they also have authority to forgive such sins as come afterwards: for, he says, 'Is any one sick among you? let him call for the Presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.'"

Here S. Chrysostom cites the passage from S. James to prove that priests have power to forgive post-baptismal sins. Is it conceivable that he should pass over the sacrament of Penance, and prove the sacerdotal power of remitting post-baptismal sins by appealing to the right of priests to anoint the sick? I do not think that any candid student of the Fathers will be found who would venture to say that such a notion is conceivable. In hundreds of passages Baptism and Penance

are coupled together as the great channels of forgiveness; but who ever heard of Baptism and Unction being coupled together in that way? If S. Chrysostom were really referring in this place to the function of anointing the sick, possessed by priests, I do not hesitate to say that the passage would stand alone in patristic literature. Obviously S. Chrysostom understands the remission of sins, spoken of by S. James, to be imparted by the priests in the sacrament of Penance. In other words, he interprets S. James as Origen interprets him, that is to say, he interprets him as the whole context of the passage requires.

It is a pleasure to record that here again the candid Estius, who himself takes the other view of S. James's meaning, admits[1] that S. Chrysostom agrees with Origen in this passage, and that both of them understand S. James to be speaking of the remission imparted through Absolution. Cardinal Bellarmine also had anticipated Estius in the same admission[2]. And Bishop Forbes also agrees with Estius and Bellarmine in their interpretation of S. Chrysostom's teaching[3].

[1] Cf. Est. *Comment. in Ep. S. Iacob., u. s.*

[2] Cf. Bellarm. lib. iii *de Poenitentia*, cap. iv, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 546.

[3] Cf. Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 466, and Boudinhon in the *Revue Catholique des Églises*, ii. 396.

At this point I shall diverge slightly from the strict chronological order, in order to bring forward the testimony of our own Bede, whose commentary on the passage in S. James is nearly always referred to when the views of Origen and S. Chrysostom have been set forth and discussed. When I have finished with Bede, I shall gather up the links in the chain, which for the present I pass by. Bede, then, in his commentary on S. James's exhortation to the sick writes as follows [1]:

"'*And let them pray over him, anointing him &c.*' We read in the Gospel [2] that the Apostles also did this; and at the present time it remains the custom of the Church, that the sick should be anointed by the presbyters with consecrated oil, and that the anointing being accompanied by prayer, they should be restored to health. And it is allowable, not only to presbyters, but also as Pope Innocent writes, to all Christians to use that same oil for anointing in their own need or in the need of any members of their household, which oil, however, may only be consecrated by bishops. For when the Apostle says—'with oil in the Name of the Lord,' he means oil consecrated in the Name of the Lord; or

[1] Bed. *Exposit. super Div. Iacob. Epist.*, *P. L.* xciii. 39.

[2] Bede is of course referring to S. Mark vi. 13.

at any rate he means that, when they anoint the sick man, they ought to invoke the name of the Lord over him. '*And if he be in sins, they shall be remitted to him.*' Many, because of sins committed in the soul, are smitten with bodily sickness or even death. For on this account the Apostle says to the Corinthians who were accustomed to receive unworthily the Body of the Lord: 'For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep.' If therefore the sick be in sins, and shall have confessed these to the presbyters of the Church, and shall have set to work with single heart to relinquish and amend them, they shall be remitted to them. For sins cannot be remitted without the confession of amendment. For which reasons the injunction is rightly added: '*Confess therefore your sins one to another, &c.*' But in the fulfilment of this injunction, there ought to be that distinction made, that we should confess mutually to our equals our daily and light sins, and believe that our sins are healed by their daily prayer; but we should disclose the uncleanness of a more grievous leprosy, according to the law, to the priest, and should take pains to purify ourselves according to his decision, in what way and for what length of time he shall direct."

This very important passage throws considerable light on the belief and practice of English Churchmen at the time when it was

written. As a matter of fact, it was in all probability written at some date between the year 709 and the year 716. Bede was a typical conservative churchman, not at all given to striking out new theories of his own. It is interesting therefore to notice that he appears to identify the Unction in S. James with the Unction in S. Mark. He also tells us that the rite described by S. James was still practised by the Church of England in his time, and still produced the same result, namely that the sick were, at any rate from time to time, supernaturally cured. He asserts on the authority of Pope Innocent, whose testimony will be discussed later on, that not only priests but also laymen may use the consecrated oil for the only purpose which he recognizes, namely the imparting of physical health; and laymen may anoint *themselves* in their sicknesses, as well as others. The oil, however, is to be consecrated by the bishop, a point which had already been decided for the churches of central and southern Italy by Pope Innocent. As we might expect, he attributes the remission of sins, about which S. James writes, to the sacrament of Penance and not to the Unction. Here he carries on the traditional interpretation of S. James's

teaching, to which, as we have seen, Origen and S. Chrysostom bore witness in the third and fourth centuries. And here again Estius candidly acknowledges that Bede refers the remission of sins, spoken of by S. James, to the Absolution of the presbyters. He says in his Commentary on the Sentences[1]: "Origen and Bede in their interpretation of James, hold that he is speaking of the *peccata gravioria*, which need for their remission the ministry of the keys; and so they separate the latter part of the Jacobean passage from the former part, and teach that the latter part is concerned with a different sacrament, namely the sacrament of Absolution." It is just the importance of making this distinction between the two parts of S. James's exhortation to the sick, which has been overlooked by so many later writers, with the result that they have misunderstood S. James's drift.

Having said what I have to say about Bede's witness, I go back to the Fathers who touch upon the Jacobean passage, and who wrote between the time of S. Chrysostom and the time of Bede; and I shall now as far as possible adhere strictly to the chronological order.

[1] Est. *in iv Sent.* dist. 23, § 7, ed. 1616, tom. iv. pars ii. p. 8.

S. Cyril of Alexandria wrote his treatise on *Worshipping in spirit and truth*, some time between the year 412 and the year 428. In the sixth book of that treatise he is pointing out the wickedness of resorting in sickness to magicians and sorcerers who were in league with demons, and yet mixed up the sacred titles of God with their incantations. "But," he says [1],

"Do thou, if thou hast pain in any part of the body, and truly believest that the words 'Lord of Sabaoth' and other names of this sort, which Holy Scripture gives to Him who is God by nature, will be able to put an end to the evil and so help thee, do thou thyself praying for thyself pronounce these words. For thou wilt do better than they [namely the sorcerers], giving the glory to God and not to the unclean spirits. But I will call to mind also the God-inspired passage of Scripture which says: 'Is any one among you sick? let him call for the presbyters of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him.'"

[1] S. Cyril. Alex., *De Adorat. in Spirit. et Verit.* lib. vi, *Opp.* ed. Aubert., 1638, tom. i. p. 211.

Here S. Cyril quotes the whole passage about the ministrations of the presbyters on behalf of the sick person; but he quotes it in reference to that part of their work which has to do with the healing of disease, because that alone was germane to his subject. He gives us no information as to whether he attributed the remission, of which S. James speaks, to Absolution or to the Unction. Evidently the passage brought prominently before his mind the supernatural imparting of physical healing.

We now come to the very important passage which occurs in the letter addressed by Pope Innocent I to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, who was one of his suffragans. The date of the letter, which is certainly genuine, is March 19, 416. After answering various other questions which had been put to him by Decentius, he comes finally to two questions founded on S. James's exhortation to the sick. The Pope begins by quoting the Jacobean passage, commencing with words, "Is any one among you sick?" and ending with the words, "It shall be forgiven him." Then he goes on to say[1]:

[1] S. Innocent. *Ep.* xxv *ad Decentium*, cap. viii, *P. L.* xx. 560-61.

"There is no doubt that the passage ought to be received or understood of the sick *faithful*, for they have the right of being anointed with the holy oil of chrism[1]; which, being consecrated by the bishop, it is lawful not for the priests only, but for all Christians to use for anointing in their own need or in the need of members of their household. But we consider that the second question is superfluous, implying, as it does, a doubt whether a *bishop* may do what it is *undoubtedly* permissible for *presbyters* to do. For express mention was made [by S. James] of presbyters, because bishops, being hindered by other employments, cannot go to all the sick. But if a bishop either has time to do it, or deems any one to be worthy of being visited by himself, he whose office it is to consecrate the chrism, need not hesitate to give his blessing to the sick, and touch them with the chrism. But that [chrism] of which you

[1] Innocent is not referring to the chrism used in confirmation, which was called the "chrisma principale"; but he is alluding to the "oleum infirmorum," which was at one time also called "chrism," and is still so called in the Roman form for consecrating it (cf. *Pontific. Roman.*, ed. Mechlin, 1873, pars iii. p. 55). The same use of the word *chrisma* is also to be found in the Penitential of S. Theodore of Canterbury (lib. ii. sect. iii. can. 8, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Doc.* vol. iii. p. 193); and the word μύρον is used in connexion with the unction of the sick in Pseudo-Damascene's *Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt*, § xviii, S. Iohann. Damasc. *Opp.* edit. Lequien, 1712, tom. i. p. 591.

speak, ought not to be poured on those who are doing penance, because it is a kind of sacrament; for how can it be supposed that one kind of sacrament may be granted to those, to whom the other sacraments are denied?"

Decentius seems to have asked S. Innocent two questions; namely (1) what sort of sick people might be anointed with the oil consecrated by the bishop, whether only Christians in full communion, or whether also those under censure and doing penance; and (2) whether bishops as well as presbyters might administer the consecrated oil. Innocent replies that it was only the faithful in full communion, who could be anointed in their sickness. Those under penance were not allowed to receive any of the holy things of the Church until they had been reconciled and their time of penance had come to an end. Thus Cardinal Bona[1] and Dom Martene[2] assure us that those under penance were not allowed to receive the Eulogiae or Blessed Bread, in other words the "*Pain bénit*," which used to be given at the conclusion of the Mass to the Faithful who for some reason had

[1] Cf. Bon. lib. ii *de Rebus Liturgicis*, cap. xix, ed. 1753, tom. iii. pp. 423-4.

[2] Cf. Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* lib. iv. cap. ix. § 19, ed. 1737, tom. iii. col. 67.

refrained from Communion on that occasion. It was part of the penance of those under censure, who had been admitted to penance, that they were deprived of the succours of the Church, except those succours that were expressly instituted with the view of preparing them for Absolution. The oil consecrated by the bishop and the *Eulogiae* or blessed bread were privileges reserved for those in full communion. Those under penance had no right to them. Just as with us also excommunicate persons are deprived of the right to ecclesiastical sepulture, the rubric expressly declaring that the Burial Office "is not to be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate." Of course, when Pope Innocent says that the Unction of the sick is "a kind of sacrament," we must not deduce from that statement the conclusion that the Unction was supposed by him to impart *ex opere operato* a gift of sanctifying grace. Such a conclusion would be a mere anachronism. It was not till more than seven centuries had elapsed after Innocent had been laid in his grave, that the word "sacrament" was limited to those rites which convey sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*[1]. In the time of

[1] See below, on pp. 257, 258.

Innocent, and for ages after Innocent's time, the word was used for any holy rite. Thus S. Augustine calls the exorcized salt, which was given to the catechumens, a sacrament[1], and S. Bernard calls the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday a sacrament[2], and Hugh of S. Victor mentions nearly thirty sacraments. The mere use of the word "sacrament" by Innocent proves nothing, one way or the other.

On the other hand, there is a passage in Innocent's letter which shows very clearly that Pope Innocent did not suppose that the Unction of the sick conveyed to those who were anointed the remission of their sins. He says expressly concerning the consecrated oil that "it is lawful, not for the priests only, but for all Christians, to use it for anointing in their own need or in the need of members of their household." It is quite inconceivable that Innocent can have meant that laymen and lay-women had the power of imparting the remission of deadly sins to themselves by anointing themselves with consecrated oil. But he evidently drew no distinction between

[1] S. Augustin. *De Catechizand. Rudibus*, cap. xxvi, *P. L.* xl. 344, et cf. *Pontifical. Rom.*, ed. 1873, pars iii. p. 197.

[2] S. Bernard. *In Coen. Dom. Serm.* §§ 2, 4, *P. L.* clxxxiii. 271–3.

the Unction administered by lay people and the Unction administered by priests[1]. If he had drawn such a distinction, he must have guarded his words from misapprehension. But he does nothing of the kind. He says quite simply that "it is lawful not for the priests only, but for all Christians to use the oil in their own need or in the need of the members of their household." Roman Catholic writers have been at their wits' end to explain away this passage. Some have roundly asserted that, while priests and lay-folk are equally to *use* the oil, they are to use it in different ways; the priests are to use it actively by *conferring* the Unction, the lay-folk passively by *receiving* the Unction. But that view, which, having regard to Innocent's words, was never a possible view, seems now to be given up, or at least relegated to the background. Sainte Beuve argues against it[2], on the ground (1) that

[1] Herbert Thorndike (*The Laws of the Church*, chap. xii, *Works*, ed. 1852, iv. 275) says: "It is also manifest that Pope Innocent calls that Unction a sacrament, which Christians give themselves; which though he refuses penitents, yet those whom the priest shall have given the Communion to could not be refused it: which refers remission of sins to the keys of the Church, but the hope of bodily health to the Unction with prayer, such as the case requires."

[2] Cf. Sainte-Beuve *Tractatus de Sacr. Extr. Unct.*, Disp. vi,

no one ever doubted that all Christians in good standing could *receive* the Unction, and (2) that no one would want to *receive* Unction, when the members of his household were ill, if he himself was well; but Pope Innocent says that all Christians may lawfully *use* the oil for anointing in the need of the members of their household. It is evident therefore that Innocent grants the active use of the oil to the lay-people. Father de Augustinis, S.J., seems to admit that the right to anoint themselves and their friends *is* granted to the lay-people; but he declares that, while the priests used the oil to confer the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the lay-people used it "*devotionis causa*," to obtain from God health of body [1]. Unfortunately for De Augustinis,

art. 1, ed. 1778, p. 203. Tillemont (x. 665), speaking of Innocent's words, says: "Il veut que tous les Fidèles aient le droit de s'en oindre, et d'en oindre les autres dans leurs maladies. Au moins je ne voy point d'autre sens à ses paroles."

[1] Cf. De Augustinis, *De Re Sacramentaria*, ed. 1687, tom. ii. p. 385. The fact that the consecrated *Oleum Infirmorum* was administered by lay persons and even by women can be proved to demonstration by a passage in the ancient Life of S. Geneviève of Paris (*circa* 412–502), printed by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum* for January, and reprinted with a more critically edited text by Kohler in 1881. In a long account of the many miracles wrought by the Saint, one of her biographers says: "Aegros vero

neither Pope Innocent nor any other Father of the first eight centuries has ever hinted at this distinction. They all speak of only one kind of anointing; and Innocent, Bede, and others assure us that the right to apply the Unction belonged equally to priests and lay-folk. During those centuries the oil was used, whether by priests or laymen, to obtain from God the restoration of physical health, whether

iugiter, *oleo sacro* delibutos, sospites reddebat. Factum est ut quemdam a daemonio vexatum vellet oleo perungere. Cui cum, secundum praeceptionem sui, ampulla quae *oleum benedictum* habuerat sed iam vacua fuerat allata, vehementissime sancta Dei famula Genovefa turbata quidnam faceret haesitabat. *Num Pontifex, qui oleum ei benediceret, aberat.* Interea, solo recubans, auxilium sibi affore de caelo ad absolvendum infirmum sacris precibus implorabat. Mox, ut ab oratione surrexit, ampulla in manibus eius oleo repleta est. Et ita demum geminae in una hora virtutes, Christo operante, apparuerunt; ut et ampulla, quae oleum non habebat, inter manus eius vacua repleretur; et ab ipso oleo inergumenus delibutus a vexatione daemonum incolumis redderetur." *Vit. Beat. Genovef. Virgin.*, § 49, ed. Kohler (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études—Sciences philologiques et historiques*—Fascic. xlviii. p. 44, 1881). See also *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Jan., pp. 142-3 (cap. x, § 51). The writer of this Life mentions that he had seen the *ampulla*, which had been miraculously filled with oil, eighteen years after the Saint's death, that is to say *circa* 520. The passage implies that the Saint ordinarily used oil consecrated by a bishop, when she wished to heal the sick or demoniacs. On the genuineness of the above-quoted Life of Saint Geneviève see note 2 on p. 173, below.

of mind or body, for the sick on whom the oil was poured.

I can imagine that some of my readers may feel a difficulty in supposing that Pope Innocent and S. Bede and others can have held that it was allowable for lay-people to administer the Unction spoken of by S. James, when the Apostle expressly says that the sick Christian is to send for the *presbyters*, and that *they* are to administer it. But S. James does not say that the Unction cannot be administered by laymen, if the presbyters are not there [1]. There are many reasons why sick Christians should send for their ordained pastors, besides their wish to be anointed by them. Priests are the natural spiritual advisers and comforters of their flock, and very specially ought they to do their duty in these respects, when any of their people are ill. They are also the necessary administrators of the sacrament of Penance [2], in any

[1] De Launoi in his book *De Sacramento Unctionis Infirmorum* (*Opp.*, ed. 1731, tom. i. pars i. p. 573), makes a similar observation. He says: "Etiamsi beatus Iacobus presbyterorum duntaxat meminerit; reipsa tamen ceteros ecclesiae homines non excludit a sacramenti ministerio." As De Launoi supposed (in my opinion, wrongly) that S. James is inculcating an Unction conveying sanctifying grace, his observation quoted above is all the more remarkable.

[2] I am speaking here of *clinical* Penance. In other

case where the use of that sacrament is desirable, a case specially contemplated by S. James. When they pray by the bed-side of the sick man, their prayers are in a sense the prayers of the whole church over which they preside. Quite apart from the question whether they alone have the power of administering Unction, it was to be expected that S. James would lay stress on the duty of sending for them; and when they have arrived and are present, they would naturally offer the prayers for recovery, and apply the oil. One may illustrate S. James's exhortation by what we of the clergy are doing continually at the present day, in connexion with a much more important rite than that of the Prayer-oil. We urge our people to send for the priest, when a baby is dangerously ill, in order that it may be baptized; but in doing so, we by no means intend to deny the validity of lay baptism, or the duty of administering the sacrament to babies and others in danger of death, which is incumbent on lay persons, when a clergyman is not forthcoming.

But perhaps some one will raise another objection, and will say,—Do you really mean

cases the Bishop was the normal minister of Penance in the earliest ages.

to assert that the Unction of the sick gives no gift of grace and comfort to the soul of the sick man? To that I answer, I am only considering at present the direct purpose of the anointing; and I say that the direct purpose is to restore in a supernatural way physical health[1]. But if the prayers are fervently offered I do not doubt that God will reward the spiritual effort of those who offered the prayers, by an infusion of His grace. And if the prayers are granted, and health is restored, who can doubt that the soul of the sick man will normally be comforted and illuminated and become aglow with the fire of grateful love. But these are not direct effects of the Unction, but indirect

[1] It hardly seems necessary to argue against the notion that S. James is thinking of an ordinary cure of disease by the medicinal use of oil. No doubt in ancient times anointing with oil was used as a remedy in certain kinds of disease. But surely not in all. Yet S. James speaks here quite generally:—"Is any among you sick?" There is no attempt to specify particular classes of illness. Besides, if S. James had been referring to medical treatment, he would have said:—"Let him send for *the physicians*." But here the Unction is to be accompanied by prayer, and is to be administered by the presbyters of the Church, evidently as a religious rite, by means of which it was hoped that God would work a supernatural cure. For the medicinal use of oil among the ancients, see Dr. Mayor's note on S. James v. 14 (*Ep. of S. James*, p. 158), and the articles on *Anointing* and on *Oil* in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

effects. They are not infused sacramentally. They are wrought by God on the *occasion* of the Unction, but not imparted directly through the *channel* of the Unction. It might be said in the language of the schoolmen that they are not bestowed *ex opere operato* but rather *ex opere operantis*[1]. We must not attribute direct sacramental effects to the Unction, unless there is a secure foundation for such teaching in Scripture and tradition. And both Scripture and tradition connect the Unction with the supernatural restoration of physical health and with that alone.

Again, I can quite imagine that in primitive and in later times the officiating priest would not conclude his prayer for the physical recovery of the sick member of his flock, without adding petitions for sundry spiritual and sanctifying graces. And those petitions would often be effectual. But still we should not be warranted in saying that such sanctifying graces were imparted sacramentally through the oil. The covenanted promises connected with sacraments are one thing, and the promises connected with prayer are another thing; and they must not be con-

[1] Compare the quotation from Newman in the note on p. 40.

fused; or else our whole sacramental theology will become chaotic. It may be asked how it is possible to distinguish between the effects which are asked for as the direct effect of the Unction, and other graces which may be asked for at the same time, but which are not supposed to be imparted by the Unction. I would suggest one test which is, I think, available, at any rate in some cases. When repeated prayers are offered for the physical healing of the diseases of mind and body, and when on the other hand some short petition for the remission of sins or for some other sanctifying grace is, as it were, thrown in, we may conclude that the latter grace is asked for as an accompanying gift, but not as a direct effect of the Anointing. The remission of sins is a gift so immeasurably greater than the healing of disease, that, if both gifts, the remission and the healing, were supposed to be imparted sacramentally by the Unction, it would be hardly possible that the whole emphasis of the prayers should be laid on the minor gift.

Now I resume the consideration of the testimony of the Fathers; though, when we have reached the time of Pope Innocent and S. Cyril of Alexandria, we are getting

pretty nearly to the end of the great patristic age. During the second half of the fifth century came the inroads of the barbarians; and darkness settled down in consequence on the whole of the West, and very largely also on the East. There were indeed a few shining lights in the dark sky, such as S. Gregory the Great and S. Bede and others; but one must wait until the end of the eleventh century, before it is possible to discern the real dawn of a brighter day. Then appeared a truly great theologian and philosopher, S. Anselm, followed by S. Bernard, and Peter Lombard, and the schoolmen, S. Thomas, S. Bonaventura, and the rest.

After Innocent and Cyril of Alexandria the first two testimonies about the meaning of the Jacobean passage concerning the Unction of the sick, that I find, are contained in two sermons of S. Caesarius of Arles. He presided over the see of Arles from the year 502 to the year 542, at a time when the old Roman civilization in Gaul was being submerged under the flood of invading barbarism. The members of his flock, when they fell into sickness, resorted in many cases to diabolical charms and to the forbidden practices of enchanters. Like S. Cyril of Alexandria,

S. Caesarius urges them to substitute the use of the holy oil in place of these sinful methods of recovering their health. In one of his sermons he says[1]:

"As often as any sickness[2] comes upon any one, let him who is sick receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and then let him anoint his own body ('corpusculum suum ungat'); so that that which is written may be fulfilled in him, 'Is any one sick, let him call for the presbyters of the Church; and let them pray over him anointing him with oil in the

[1] Cf. *Serm.* cclxv. § 3, *in Append. Sermm. S. Augustin.*, *P. L.* xxxix. 2238.

[2] It should be noted that S. Caesarius is not speaking of persons who are in serious danger of death, or at any rate he is not speaking primarily of them. He says: "As often as *any* sickness (*aliqua infirmitas*) comes upon any one." When, therefore, he advises the sick person to receive Holy Communion, and then anoint himself, he is not contemplating the reception of Communion by way of Viaticum, but merely an ordinary Communion. Both in this passage and in another to be quoted directly, S. Caesarius advises the sick person *to run to the Church* and communicate, advice which could hardly be followed, if the sick person was supposed to be very seriously ill, and in danger of death. I would not however wish to press this last consideration, as the expression "run to the Church" may merely mean, "have recourse to the Church," that is, to the ordained ministers of the Church. But I see that Dom Martene understands the word, *ecclesiam*, in this passage to refer to the building (cf. Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*, ed. 1736, tom. i. col. 834).

Name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; if he be in sins, they shall be remitted to him.' You see, brethren, that he, who is in sickness, should run to the Church, and he will merit to receive health of body and to receive the pardon of his sins. Since therefore two good things can be got in the Church, why do miserable men strive to bring on themselves multiplied evils by resorting to fountains, and trees, and diabolical phylacteries, and the branding of magical marks on their body, and by consulting diviners and soothsayers and fortune-tellers?"

In another sermon S. Caesarius, after giving very interesting and minute details about the different kinds of superstitious and diabolical practices which were used by sick persons living in his diocese, in the hope of recovering their health, goes on to say[1]:

"How much better and more salutary it would be that they should run to the Church and receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and should with faith anoint themselves and the members of their household with consecrated oil; and according to the statement of the Apostle, James, receive not only health of body but also remission of sins. For the Holy Ghost has given this promise through James."

[1] Cf. *Serm.* cclxxix. § 5, *in Append. Sermm. S. Augustin.*, *P. L.* xxxix. 2273.

And then Caesarius quotes the Jacobean passage, as in the other sermon from which I have just now made a quotation.

In regard to both these passages it is to be noted that the sick man is first to receive our Lord's Body and Blood, and is then to anoint his own body, and, according to the second passage, he is also to anoint the members of his household; perhaps because, when the second sermon was preached, an infectious disease may have been raging. Caesarius speaks first of receiving bodily health, and then of receiving the remission of sins. It is not quite clear whether he attributes the remission of sins to the reception of our Lord's Body and Blood, or to the self-imparted Unction. If he means to attribute it to the latter, he must be thinking of venial sins. It would be an unheard-of piece of advice to urge a man, who was in the state of deadly sin, to go and communicate in that state first, and then immediately afterwards to impart to himself forgiveness by anointing his own body. In such a case the anointing ought, surely, to precede the receiving of the Holy Communion. Even in the case of venial sins, one would have thought that it would be more reverent to cleanse oneself first from

their stains, and then to communicate. Altogether, theological reasons lead me to think that it is more probable that S. Caesarius, when he speaks of the remission of sins, was thinking of venial sins, and that he attributes their remission to the reception of the Holy Communion, in accordance with the words of our own Communion Service, in which we pray that we may so eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood." Whether he attributed the remission to the Holy Communion or to the Unction, he was departing from the true meaning of the Jacobean passage. Bede, who lived two hundred years after S. Caesarius, but who had thoroughly studied both Scripture and Catholic tradition, rightly attributes the remission mentioned by S. James to the sacrament of Penance. As we have seen, S. James was speaking of *peccata graviora*.

I come now to consider the witness of Victor of Antioch, who wrote a commentary on S. Mark, and was probably a contemporary of S. Caesarius [1]. Commenting on S. Mark vi. 13, one of the passages which has been dis-

[1] Compare Swete, *Gospel according to S. Mark*, p. cvii.

cussed above, in the first Chapter[1], Victor says:

'Things nearly resembling these, Luke, too, sets forth[2]; but the ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ Mark alone said; things like to that James also says in his Catholic Epistle: 'Is any sick among you, let him call for the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.' Oil both cures pains, and is a source of light and cheerfulness. The anointing oil, then, signifies both the mercy from God, and the cure of the disease, and the enlightening of the heart. For it is manifest to every one that the prayer used to effect (ἐνήργει) the whole of the result; but the oil, as I suppose, used to be (ὑπῆρχε) the symbol of these things."

It would seem from Victor's words that the practice of Anointing had ceased in Antioch in his time. He says that every one can see that the prayer *used to effect* the whole result; and that the oil *used to be* the symbol of that result. If the Church of Antioch had practised Anointing in Victor's day, he would hardly have written in that way[3]. Victor

[1] See pp. 10–12.

[2] Victor is, I suppose, referring to S. Luke, ix. 6.

[3] Bishop Forbes of Brechin (*Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*, ed. 1871, p. 469, observes that Victor "speaks of

was therefore speaking of something of which he had no experience, and the remarks which he makes seem to embody his own conjectures rather than the traditional teaching of his Church. I confess that to me it does not appear by any means so evident as it did to him, that the Unction had no share in producing the result, whatever the result may have been.

The first clear instance that I have been able to discover of a synodical injunction being given, requiring that the oil should be administered to the sick by the presbyters, is to be found in the forty-eighth canon of the second Council of Chalon-sur-Saône, held during the reign of Charles the Great, in the year 813. The canon runs as follows[1]:

"According to the teaching of the blessed Apostle James, with which the teachings of the Fathers agree, the sick ought to be anointed by the presbyters with oil which is blessed by the bishops. For thus speaks the Apostle: 'Is any one among you sick? &c.... and if he be in sins they shall be remitted to him.' It follows that a medicine of this sort, which heals the sicknesses of soul and body, is not to be lightly esteemed."

the anointing and the prayer accompanying it, as a thing of the past, so that the natural inference would rather be, that it was not used in Antioch in his time."

[1] Coleti, ix. 370.

It is quite possible that the restriction of the Anointing to the presbyters was closely connected with the rise and spread of the theory that the remission of sins, spoken of by S. James, was a grace sacramentally imparted by the Unction. This canon seems to me to deduce from S. James's words about the remission of sins the conclusion that sicknesses of soul are healed by the Unction. Its words are:—"Non est *itaque* parvipendenda huiuscemodi medicina," &c. Apart from that word, *itaque*, the statement that the Unction and the accompanying prayers conveyed healing to the soul as well as to the body would by no means necessarily refer to any sacramental remission of sins through the oil. There are, as I have pointed out before, physical sicknesses of the soul and spirit and mind, quite external to the category of sin. There is melancholia, and hysteria, and madness, and demoniacal possession. There are said to have been instances of very holy persons being possessed by demons, and yet retaining a very close degree of inward union with God during long periods of time, when they were having to endure such demoniacal possession. Dr. Pusey, in his *Lectures on the Book of Daniel*[1], refers to

[1] Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, 2nd edit., 1868, pp. 433-5.

the well-known case of the Père Surin, a French Jesuit of the seventeenth century, the author of several deeply spiritual books, some of which were written during a period of his life when he is said to have been possessed by one or more evil spirits [1]. Now we know that in the fourth and following centuries the *Oleum Infirmorum* was used in cases of demoniacal possession. The Venerable Bede, in his comment on S. Mark vi. 13, says [2] that it is clear from that passage that "the custom of the Holy Church, in accordance with which *demoniacs* or other sick persons are anointed with oil consecrated by the bishop's benediction, has been handed down from the Apostles themselves." When through the prayers and the anointing a demoniac was delivered from the terrible infliction of being possessed by a demon, it would be true to say that the sickness of his soul and spirit was cured; although the ex-

Compare the *Notice of Surin*, printed in the English translation of Surin's *Foundations of the Spiritual Life*, edit. London, 1847, pp. lxii-lxviii.

[1] Compare also a passage from Ohannes Mantagouni, who was Catholicos of the Armenians from 478 to 490 (Mai. *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Collect.* tom. x. pars 2, p. 298).

[2] Bed. *Exposit. in Marc. Evang.*, lib. ii, *P. L.* xcii. 188. Compare also the statement of Theodulf of Orleans, quoted below, on p. 401.

pulsion of the demon would in many cases be a totally different thing from the remission of sin. Dom Hugh Ménard, in his Notes and Observations in his edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, quotes[1] from the *Ordo* for Maundy Thursday in a Rouen Pontifical a rubric concerning the blessing of the *Oleum Infirmorum*, as follows: "Then shall be presented to the bishop the oil for anointing both the sick and the energumens. And the bishop himself, and all the presbyters who are present, shall bless it[2]."

But notwithstanding all these considerations, I am convinced that the forty-eighth canon of the second Council of Chalon-sur-Saône, held in 813, does recognize and support the theory that the Unction of the sick mentioned by S. James imparts sacramentally the remission of sins. For the sake of any who may remain doubtful on that matter, I would point out that in any case an indubitable synodical proof of the uprising of the above-mentioned theory is contained in the eighth canon of the Council

[1] Cf. S. Gregor. Magn. *Opp.* tom. iv, *P. L.* lxxviii. 328.

[2] Reference may also be made to the prayers for the consecration of the oil in Serapion's Sacramentary (pp. 81 and 89), and to the incident from the Life of S. Geneviève quoted on pp. 59, 60, n. 1. See also pp. 163, 183, &c.

of Pavia, a council held in the year 850. The canon runs thus[1]:

"Also that salutary sacrament which James the Apostle commends, saying, 'Is any sick among you? &c. . . . and if he is in sins, it shall be remitted to him,' is to be notified (*innotescendum*) to the peoples by intelligent preaching; a truly great and exceedingly to be longed for mystery, by means of which, if it is earnestly asked for in faith, both sins are remitted, and as a consequence bodily health is restored."

The canon goes on to say that, when the Unction is administered, the neighbouring presbyters are to be invited to join with the parish priest. Here there can be no question that the Unction is regarded as a means for conveying to the sick man remission of sins. Whether the bishops who drew up the canon had in view only venial sins, or whether in their intention they included also mortal sins, does not clearly appear. What does appear is that they regarded the Unction as a rite imparting sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*[2]. They therefore held a view of Unction

[1] Coleti, ix. 1067.

[2] I do not of course mean that the Council of Pavia used the expression, *ex opere operato*. The expression was devised by some schoolman in the middle ages. But the idea denoted by the expression is as old as Christianity; and all orthodox members of the Church, whether in the

which would bring it within the category of a sacrament, according to the ordinary scholastic definition of that word; although, no doubt, the council itself used the word "sacrament" in its wide meaning, according to the custom of the pre-scholastic ages. The bishops who attended the Council of Pavia were, I suppose, for the most part the bishops of North Italy and Dalmatia. Angilbert, Archbishop of Milan, and Theodeman, Patriarch of Aquileia, presided, along with the venerable Bishop Joseph, "the arch-chaplain of the whole Church," as he is called in the acts of the council—or, as we should say, "the Lord High Almoner of the Emperor."

Of course, I do not for a moment mean to imply that the sacramental view of Unction was *invented* either by the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône in 813, or by the Council of Pavia in 850. Councils, as a rule, do not invent theories, they promulgate them. Probably during the earlier part of the ninth century the custom was gradually growing up of limiting the administration of the Unction to the presbyters, instead of allowing the lay people to anoint themselves and their children and their servants. Such a change of discipline

East or West, believe that sacraments, in the restricted sense of the term, convey sanctifying grace *ex opere operato* to those who receive them with the proper dispositions.

might easily tend to result in a change of doctrine. Or perhaps the sequence of events may have been in the reverse order; and the change of doctrine may have come first, and may have led on to the change of discipline. Anyhow, the doctrine and discipline were closely connected together. We have seen that in the earlier part of the eighth century, in the time of Bede, the lay administration of Unction was in full force, at any rate in England; and so we find that Bede, when speaking of the effect of the Unction, mentions only the supernatural restoration of physical health to mind and body, while he attributes the remission of sins spoken of by S. James to the exercise of the power of the keys and the use of the sacrament of Penance. Thus the scriptural and patristic teaching lasted on, at any rate in the West, till the eighth century; and, confining ourselves for the present to the evidence set forth in this chapter, and assigning the widest limits possible, we may say that the change of view, as well as the change of discipline, took place in the West during the period which intervened between the age of Bede and the middle of the ninth century, or, to be more precise, between 716 and 850.

## CHAPTER III.

### The Witness of the Liturgies.

Having thus discussed the teaching of the Fathers of the first eight centuries about the Unction spoken of by S. James, I must now do what I can to gather up the witness of such liturgical books as have come down to us from those early ages.

I naturally begin with the newly discovered Sacramentary of S. Serapion of Thmuis in the Nile delta, the friend of S. Athanasius. Here I have the advantage of being able to use the text of the Sacramentary, as it has been edited by Mr. Brightman. It is unfortunate that the only manuscript of the Sacramentary, which is at present known to us, dates from the eleventh century, that is to say seven centuries later than the age of Serapion. As every one knows, liturgical documents, perhaps more than any other kind of literature, are liable to be interpolated, as time goes on, so as to keep them up to date, and enable them to be used, notwithstanding changes of circumstances and practice and be-

lief. I suppose that none of the copies of the best known ancient Greek liturgies which have come down to us represent them to us as they were in the fourth century, unless it be the order of service, commonly called the Clementine liturgy, which, being embedded in the great collection known as the Apostolical Constitutions, has been preserved rather as a literary curiosity than as a form of worship actually to be used. However, the witness of Serapion's Sacramentary, notwithstanding this drawback, is most valuable for our purpose. There are in it two prayers of consecration for the *Oleum Infirmorum*. The first occurs in the Anaphora of the Eucharistic Liturgy, just before the final blessing. The people have communicated; the post-communion thanksgiving has been said; and then there follows a prayer which is thus described in its heading[1]—"*Prayer concerning the oils and waters that are being offered.*" And this is the prayer:

"We bless through the Name of thy Only-begotten, JESUS Christ, these creatures. We name the Name of him who suffered, who was crucified, and rose again, and who sitteth on the Right Hand of the Uncreated, *upon*

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i. p. 108.

*this water* and *upon this oil*. Grant healing power upon these creatures, that every fever and every demon and every sickness may depart through the drinking and the anointing, and that the partaking of these creatures may be a healing medicine and a medicine of complete soundness (*φάρμακον ὁλοκληρίας*) in the Name of thy Only-begotten, JESUS Christ, through whom to thee [are] the glory and the strength in the Holy Spirit to all the ages of the ages. Amen[1]."

(1) The first point which I notice about this prayer is its position in the Communion Service. As I have said, it comes after the Post-Communion thanksgiving and immediately before the final blessing. It occurs, therefore, very near to the point in the service, at which on Maundy Thursday up to the present time the bishop consecrates the principal Chrism and the *Oleum Catechumenorum* according to the directions of the Roman Pontifical. The only difference is, that at Rome these oils are consecrated immediately after the general Communion of the Clergy, and therefore *before* the Post-Communion, instead of *after* the Post-Communion. But at Rome the *Oleum Infirmorum*

[1] The Greek text of this prayer is printed in Appendix I (see pp. 315, 316, below).

is consecrated at a somewhat earlier stage, namely, just before the concluding paragraph of the Canon, which begins with the words, *Per quem haec omnia*[1].

(2) The next point to be noticed is that there are no prayers for the remission of sins or for any other sanctifying grace. God is entreated to grant "healing power" upon the things which are being blessed, including the oil, so that every fever, every demon, and every sickness may depart through the anointing, and that the partaking of these things in the Name of Christ may be a healing medicine and a medicine of complete soundness.

(3) The third point to notice is that the consecrated oil is intended to expel every *demon* from those who are anointed by it. As in the time of Bede, so in the time of Athanasius, four centuries earlier, the oil was used to heal not only the body, but also the

[1] The position of the consecration of the *Oleum Infirmorum* in Serapion's Eucharistic Liturgy finds an exact parallel in that strange composition, the *Testamentum Domini*, which was probably compiled in the fifth century, and has been recently published by the Uniat Syrian Patriarch, Mgr. Rahmani. There also the consecration of the oil and water for the sick follows the Post-Communion. See pp. 113, 114, below.

soul or the spirit which might be possessed by a demon. Though the oil was not intended to convey the remission of sins, yet it was for the healing of soul and body.

(4) The fourth point to notice is that the same prayer which was used to bless the *oil* was used also to bless the *water*. The blessed oil and the blessed water had exactly the same effects. They both were intended to drive away fevers and demons and sicknesses, and to become supernatural medicines of healing and of complete soundness. It is evident that the water would often, if not always, be *drunk*, and the oil would often, if not always, be used in the way of *anointing*. However, it is possible that the water was sometimes sprinkled, and the oil tasted. Precedents for such a use of them could be found in other rites, and in the lives of the Saints.

(5) The fifth point to notice is that both the oil and the water were *offered* as well as consecrated. The rubrical heading, which precedes the formula of blessing, describes that formula as a "Prayer concerning the oils and waters that are being offered." The question naturally arises in one's mind—offered by whom? and there can be no doubt about the answer that should be given. The

oil and the water were brought by lay people, men or women, and offered, just as the lay people also brought the bread and the wine and offered them at the offertory; and then from the bread and wine that were offered by the people, a portion was selected, and offered at the altar by the Priest, and was afterwards consecrated by him. The proof that the oil and water were first offered by lay persons, who brought them to the church, may be found in the twenty-ninth chapter of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The heading of this twenty-ninth chapter runs thus[1]: "But concerning water and oil I, Matthias, make a constitution." Then the chapter itself reads as follows:

"Let the bishop bless the water or the oil. But if he be not there, let the presbyter bless it, the deacon standing by. But if the bishop be present, let the presbyter and the deacon stand by; but let him say thus: 'O Lord of Sabaoth, the God of hosts, the Creator of the waters, and the bountiful supplier of oil, who art compassionate and a lover of mankind, who gavest water for drink and cleansing, and oil to make a cheerful countenance

[1] Pitra, *Iur. Eccl. Graec. Hist. et Mon.*, ed. Rom., 1864, tom. i. p. 62. The Greek text is printed in the Appendix, on p. 318, below.

for the exultation of joy. Do thou now sanctify this water, and this oil, through Christ, in the name of him that offered or of her that offered (ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ προσκομίσαντος ἢ τῆς προσκομισάσης [1]), and give to these things a power of producing health and of driving away diseases, of putting to flight demons, of dispersing every snare, through Christ our Hope, with whom to thee be glory, honour, and worship, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen.'"

From this formula of blessing, which represents the usage of some place not far from the Syrian Antioch, at some date within the second half of the fourth century, we see clearly that men and women used to offer water and oil, that they might then be offered at the altar and blessed by either the bishop or the presbyter [2]. Probably the water

[1] The word προσκομίζω is a regular liturgical word for offering. References are given by Mr Brightman in the Glossary of technical terms at the end of his *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (vol. i. p. 601).

[2] That the oil was offered, not only by the lay people who brought it, but also by the bishop or priest who consecrated it, is made quite clear by the rubric preceding the form for consecrating the oil in the fragments of an ancient Latin translation of a Church Order probably compiled in the first half of the fourth century, and recently discovered at Verona, and also by the similar rubric in the closely allied Ethiopic Church Order. Compare p. 104, below.

and the oil, when blessed, were given back to those, who had offered them, to take home for private use. This custom of privately using the *Oleum Infirmorum* seems therefore to have been in use in Egypt and Syria in the fourth century. We have seen that Pope Innocent implies that there was a similar usage in Italy in the next century; and we may probably gather from the Gregorian Sacramentary, that the usage continued in Rome and in other parts of the West for several centuries after the time of Innocent. In the rubric which precedes the consecration of the *Oleum Infirmorum* on Maundy Thursday in the Gregorian Sacramentary mention is made of "the vessels [of oil] which the people offer" ('ampullae quas offerunt populi'[1]). The rubric goes on to say that the

[1] Cf. Murator. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.*, ed. 1748, tom. ii. col. 55. Duchesne prints in the Appendix to the second edition of his *Origines du Culte Chrétien* a copy of certain Roman *Ordines* taken from a MS., once at Saint Amand, written apparently towards the end of the eighth century. On p. 449 there is an account of the blessing of the *Oleum Infirmorum* at Rome on Maundy Thursday, which throws a good deal of light on the meaning of the rubric from the Gregorian Sacramentary, quoted in the text. In the English translation of Duchesne's book, published by the S.P.C.K., the passage referred to above will be found on p. 466.

oil is consecrated by the Lord Pope and by all the presbyters. In the similar rite which is to be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, the rubrical heading to the consecration of the oil of the sick runs thus[1]: "*Benedictio olei. Ad populum in his verbis*, Istud oleum ad ungendos infirmos." The expression, "ad populum," perhaps has reference to the usage, according to which the lay people carried home private supplies of the consecrated oil. But, on consideration, it seems to me to be more probable that the rubric is intended to direct that, before the oil is consecrated, an announcement should be made to the congregation ("ad populum"), informing them that it was the *Oleum Infirmorum* that was about to be blessed. The custom of making such an announcement is still observed in churches which use the Roman Pontifical[2].

On the whole, the form for blessing the oil and water, which is embedded in the Eucharistic Liturgy in S. Serapion's Sacramentary, and the similar Syrian form in the Apostolical Constitutions singularly corroborate my main contention in this book. The holy oil and the holy water are put

[1] *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 70.

[2] Cf. *Pontific. Roman.* pars iii, edit. 1873, p. 53.

on a level[1], and are blessed together, with the same formula of benediction. They are intended to be used for the supernatural cure of disorders whether of soul or body, but not for the remission of sins, nor for the infusion of sanctifying grace. They may apparently be administered by lay persons as well as by the clergy.

But in another part of Serapion's Sacramentary there is another prayer bearing on our subject, and this prayer we must proceed to investigate.

The rubrical heading of this prayer is thus worded: "*A Prayer for Oil of the sick or for Bread or for Water*[2]." The prayer runs thus:

"We invoke thee who hast all authority and power, the Saviour of all men, Father

[1] The *Vita S. Caesarii Arelat.*, written by disciples of the Saint who was Bishop of Arles from 502 to 542, supplies a good illustration of holy oil and holy water being put on a level in Gaul in the sixth century. The following passage occurs in lib. ii. § 17 of the *Vita* (*Monum. Germ. Hist., Script. Rer. Meroving.* tom. iii. p. 490):—"Nam cum ad oleum benedicendum competentibus in baptisterio annis singulis veniebat, et hinc rediens cum cocumula, ad consignandos infantes sederet, parvuli illic pueri vel puellae a parentibus missi certatim currebant, exhibentes vascula cum aqua, alii cum oleo, ut eis benediceret."

[2] *J. T. S.* vol. i. pp. 267-8. The Greek text is printed in Appendix I below, on pp. 316, 317.

of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and we pray thee to send out a healing power of the Only-begotten from heaven upon this oil, that it may become to those who are being anointed [with it], (or are partaking of these thy creatures) for a throwing off of every disease and every infirmity, for a prophylactic (ἀλεξιφάρμακον) against every demon, for a separation (ἐκχωρισμόν) of every unclean spirit, for an expulsion (ἀφορισμόν) of every evil spirit, for a driving out of all fever and shivering fit (ῥίγους) and every infirmity, *for good grace and remission of sins* (εἰς χάριν ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων), for a medicine of life and recovery (εἰς φάρμακον ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας), for health and soundness in all their parts, of soul, body, spirit (εἰς ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν ψυχῆς σώματος πνεύματος), for perfect strengthening. O Master let every Satanic operation, every demon, every snare of the adversary, every plague, every scourge, every smart, every pain, or stroke, or shaking, or evil shadow, fear thy Holy Name which we have now invoked, and the Name of the Only-begotten; and let them depart from the inward and the outward parts *of these Thy servants*, that his Name may be glorified, who for us was crucified and rose again, who took up our sicknesses and our infirmities, even Jesus Christ, and who is coming to judge quick and dead. Because through him to Thee [are] the glory and the strength in the Holy Spirit both now and to all the ages of the ages. Amen."

It is evident on the face of it that this prayer goes into great detail, and mentions a number of evil things which may come upon men to their hurt; and it is also evident that nearly all these evil things are of the nature of sicknesses, or bodily pains, or else are demoniacal operations or hauntings. So far, this formula for blessing oil for the sick is of the same character as the other formula which occurs in the same sacramentary, and which we have already considered. There are, however, in the middle of the prayer three clauses coming one after another, which may seem to be of a different character, and to be in somewhat startling contrast with the many clauses which precede and follow them. I myself believe that one of these three clauses is really of a different character from the whole of the rest of the prayer; and I shall later on do what I can to explain its presence in the midst of surroundings with which it does not harmonize. But I will now point out what the three clauses are to which I am alluding, recalling however, first of all, the form which the prayer takes. The general form of the prayer is this: the Father is petitioned to send out a healing power of the Only-begotten from heaven

upon the oil, or upon the bread, or upon the water [1], in order that these created substances may become to those, who use them, for the healing of various ailments and for the driving away of various kinds of demoniacal influence, and also (and here come the three special clauses) "for good grace and remission of sins, for a medicine of life and recovery (*εἰς φάρμακον ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας*), for health and soundness of all their parts, of soul, body, spirit (*εἰς ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν ψυχῆς σώματος πνεύματος*)."

Let us consider the middle clause of these three first. In the Greek it runs, *εἰς φάρμακον ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας*. Now I grant that those words might very well be used to imply that by means of the oil, or the bread, or the water, sanctifying grace was imparted. S. Ignatius of Antioch calls the Holy Eucharist, "the medicine of immortality;" and the same holy Sacrament might very well be called, "the medicine of life and

[1] It is interesting to notice that in S. Bede's *Life of S. Cuthbert* the same three substances, holy oil, holy bread, and holy water, are mentioned in three successive chapters as having been used for the supernatural cure of ailments. The headings of the 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters run as follows: 29 "Quomodo uxorem comitis per presbyterum suum *aqua benedicta sanaverit*." 30 "Quomodo puellam *oleo* perunctam a dolore capitis lateriisque *curaverit*." 31 "Quomodo *per panem ab eo benedictum* infirmus *sit sanatus*" (cf. *P. L.* xciv. 769-71).

salvation," meaning thereby "the medicine of eternal life and of everlasting salvation." But, whatever may be thought of the application of such terms to the oil, it must be admitted that one would hardly expect that a holy bishop of the fourth century, a friend of S. Athanasius, would use such very exalted language of holy water and blessed bread. Four or five centuries later, such language would be more conceivable; but it would be difficult, or rather, I am inclined to think, impossible to find any parallel for such exaggeration in the fourth century. And there is no need for us to adopt an interpretation which brings us into such difficulties. On the contrary there are strong reasons for interpreting the words in a totally different way. The Bollandists have printed in the third volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May[1] a letter addressed to Theophilus of Alexandria by an Egyptian bishop, named Ammon. Ammon had known in his younger days two holy abbots of the *Coenobium* of Tabenna, S. Pachomius the founder and S. Theodore, his second successor. In his letter Ammon gives to Theophilus a number of particulars about these two holy men. Among his

[1] *Acta SS.* tom. iii. Mai., p. 67*.

anecdotes about S. Theodore he narrates a miracle wrought by the Saint, which he himself had witnessed. A girl was dying in her father's house, which was not very far from the Monastery at Tabenna. The anxious father came to Tabenna, and begged the holy abbot Theodore to come to his house and pray over his daughter and recover her. Theodore was not able to go at that time, but pointed out that God, being omnipresent, could hear his prayers for the girl, even though they were not offered in her presence. Then the father got a silver cup full of water, and brought it to Theodore, and said, "I am a man of little faith; I beg as a favour of you that you will at any rate invoke the name of God over this water on behalf of my daughter: for I believe that God will hearken to you, and will make this water *a medicine of recovery* (*φάρμακον σωτηρίας*) for her." Then Theodore taking the cup looked up to heaven, and prayed with tears, and made the sign of the cross of Christ over the water. And the father took the cup of holy water, and hurried back to his home, and forcing open the closed mouth of his daughter, poured into it some of the water which had been blessed, and the girl recovered. Now this

event happened at Tabenna in Upper Egypt, just about the time when S. Serapion must have been compiling his Sacramentary at his city of Thmuis in the Nile delta. When, therefore, Serapion uses the expression *φάρμακον ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας*, in a prayer to be used over water to bless it for the use of the sick, we may safely suppose that he used it in the same sense, as it evidently bore on the lips of his contemporary and fellow-countryman, the father who petitioned S. Theodore to bless water for the supernatural recovery of his daughter. I therefore feel no doubt that the second of the three clauses, which we are considering, has to do with the restoration of health and not with the imparting of sanctifying grace.

This will help us to understand in a similar way the last of the three clauses, which runs thus: "for health and soundness in all their parts, of soul, body, spirit (*εἰς ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν ψυχῆς σώματος πνεύματος*)." The word *ὑγεία* means '*health*'; and Plato couples *ὑγιής* and *ὁλόκληρος* together[1]. The soul

[1] In the other prayer for the benediction of the oils and waters that are being offered, which occurs in Serapion's Eucharistic *Anaphora*, the expression *φάρμακον ὁλοκληρίας* is coupled with *φάρμακον θεραπευτικόν*. See *J. T. S.* i. 108, and p. 316, below.

and spirit, as well as the body, are liable to morbid conditions, whether under demoniacal influence or otherwise, quite apart from their being stained by sin; and Serapion's formula of blessing prays that the water or the oil or the bread may impart health and complete soundness to the *soul* and *spirit*, as well as to the body, of afflicted persons who use these consecrated things. It seems, therefore, that two out of the three clauses, which we are considering, are quite homogeneous with the general tone of the rest of the prayer.

There remains, however, one clause which stands by itself and is not susceptible of any such explanations as the others seem, on consideration, to demand. In the middle of a prayer which is otherwise entirely taken up with petitions for restoration to physical health, and for preservation from the malign influence of demons, we find that God is invoked to send down a healing power of the Only-begotten upon the oil, or upon the bread, or upon the water, that they may become "*for good grace and remission of sins*" to those who partake of them. Now we know that either in the eighth or in the ninth century in the West, and at about the same time, or perhaps, more probably, somewhat earlier, in

the East, a change came over men's notions about the true interpretation of the passage from S. James, and it began to be believed that the remission of sins, of which he speaks, was conveyed through the oil; whereas the earlier fathers had understood that the remission was to be conveyed by the Absolution of the Priest. There is clear evidence that this was the view in the East, when the elaborate Service for administering the Prayer-oil, as it is at present used by the Eastern Church, was put together. As far as I know, the date of the composition of that Office has not as yet been ascertained. All that I can say for certain is, that the prayer which constitutes its central core, is in its present form later than the time of Justinian [1], perhaps two or three centuries later. Anyhow, the view that the oil conveyed remission of sins must have prevailed in the East before the eleventh century, when our only manuscript copy of Serapion's Sacramentary was transcribed. I have already pointed out [2] that liturgical documents are specially liable to be interpolated, as time goes on and new copies are made, so as to adapt the liturgical forms

[1] See note 2 on p. 135, below.
[2] See above, on pp. 79, 80.

to changes of circumstances and practice and belief. I believe that in the case of the clause, which we are considering, such an interpolation has taken place. Some scribe, who may have copied Serapion's Sacramentary in the eighth or ninth century, was accustomed to attribute remission of sins to the Unction of the sick, and was astonished to find such a surpassingly important effect of the Unction absent from Serapion's prayer. He therefore in all good faith inserted it; as hundreds of his fellow-scribes have done, when adapting other liturgical matter to the needs of later times[1]. He probably inserted it in the prayer at the exact point where we find it, because, as we have seen, the two clauses, which follow, though really homogeneous with the rest of

[1] It may perhaps be contended that the Sacramentary was probably copied in the later stages of its manuscript transmission, not so much for liturgical use, as for the preservation of a document connected with the name of a saint like Serapion, the trusted friend of such a man as the great Athanasius. But even so, there would be a temptation to fill up what would appear to be such a grievous *lacuna* from a doctrinal point of view, as the omission of all reference to the remission of sins. Any number of parallel cases could be produced in corroboration, if corroboration should be thought necessary. For a few interesting instances of such parallel cases the reader may consult a note by the Abbé Turmel (*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, v. 289–292).

the prayer, are open to an interpretation which would bring them into line with the interpolated clause. If any one refuses to accept the theory of interpolation, it will be for him to explain why the inconceivably great gift of the remission of sins has so little emphasis laid upon it, that it occurs neither at the beginning nor at the end of the prayer, but is slipped into the middle of it, and is embedded and almost lost amid a crowd of petitions for the healing of various kinds of physical diseases. He will also have to explain in what sense it may be supposed that a friend of S. Athanasius would attribute remission of sins to the use of the holy water or blessed bread; and why Unction with the oil that has been blessed should be regarded as a sacrament, while the use of the bread and the water, which received exactly the same benediction as the oil, and were supposed to convey exactly the same effects, should be refused a place among the sacraments. He will also have to explain why *one* prayer for the blessing of the oil for the sick in Serapion's Sacramentary contains no reference to the remission of sins or other sanctifying grace, while the other prayer for the blessing of oil, also to be used for the sick, and resembling

the former prayer in its general character throughout, has this tremendously important petition for the remission of sins appearing in the midst of its other clauses, which have to do with such an entirely different class of subjects. It must, I think, in any case be admitted that, if the clause is genuine, it stands by itself in the extant Christian literature of the first seven centuries; there being in the patristic, liturgical, and conciliar remains of those ages, no other trace of the theory that remission of sins is imparted sacramentally through the *Oleum Infirmorum*, and through holy water and through blessed bread[1]. For myself, I say again that I believe that the clause about the remission of sins is an interpolation, inserted into the prayer

[1] My chief difficulty in admitting the genuineness of the clause lies in the fact that the prayer, in which it occurs, is attributed with much show of probability (cf. *J. T. S.* i. 90, 91) to S. Serapion of Thmuis, the trusted friend of S. Athanasius. I may be wholly mistaken; but at present I find myself unable to believe that S. Serapion could have attributed in any sense remission of sins to blessed bread. If the prayer were the composition of some unknown Egyptian clergyman of the fourth century, my difficulty would be very much diminished, if not altogether overcome. Even then I should assume that he looked on the blessed bread, water, and oil as producing their effects *per modum impetrationis*, and not as conveying grace *ex opere operato*.

several centuries after the time of Serapion. If we amend the prayer by getting rid of the interpolation, the Sacramentary of Serapion will be consistent with itself, and will harmonize with the general teaching of the Fathers, and with the true meaning of the passage of S. James's Epistle, which is, I think, established by the proofs given in the first chapter of this book.

There are two other early Eastern[1] forms of consecrating oil for the sick, about which I must now say something. They occur in

[1] I call them "Eastern" because the Church Orders in which they occur were originally compiled in Greek. But it is possible that the form for blessing the oil, which is found in the earlier of the two Orders, was derived from the Canons of Hippolytus, and it is also not improbable that those Canons represent the Church Order used in the Roman Church at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. In the 27th Hippolytean Canon directions are given about the saying of the prayer of the Eucharistic consecration and the perfecting of the Sacrifice. And then, in the 28th Canon (*Die Canones Hippolyti*, ed. Achelis, p. 56), occurs the following rubric: "Quodsi adest oleum, oret super illud hoc modo." No formula is given in the Arabic translation, in which form alone the Canons are now extant; but it is quite possible that the original Greek or Latin Canons may have contained a formula for blessing the oil. The later of the two Church Orders, with which I am dealing, that is to say the *Testamentum Domini*, is undoubtedly of Eastern *provenance*.

two Church Orders, originally composed or compiled in Greek, but of which the Greek originals are no longer extant. We possess, however, translations or fragments of translations of these Orders. Fragments of the earlier Order in a Latin version were discovered a few years ago at Verona by Dr. Edmund Hauler of Vienna, and were published by him at Leipzig in the year 1900. The character of the script leads Dr. Hauler to assign the manuscript to the closing years of the fifth century; but in his opinion the Latin translation was made at least a century earlier; and he considers that the Greek original must have been composed or compiled before the middle of the fourth century. The compilation undoubtedly contains some elements of a date much earlier than that of the composition of the Order as an Order. There is also an Ethiopic translation of this earlier Order, or at any rate of an Order closely allied to it, and in some parts almost identical with it. The Ethiopic form for consecrating oil for the sick together with the rubric, which is attached to it and precedes it, very closely resembles the similar section in the Verona fragments. Until a critical edition of the Ethiopic Church Order shall

have been published, it will be difficult to arrive at any secure conclusions as to the relation of the Ethiopic Order to the Verona fragments. Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, who has discussed the relative dates of the Greek originals underlying several of these early Church Orders, gives reasons for thinking that the Greek Order underlying the fragments is somewhat later than the Greek Order which underlies the Ethiopic version [1]. On the other hand, speaking of the fragments, he says that, "being in Latin," they are "probably nearer the original Greek than an Oriental version [2]." And Dr. Hauler himself, when he compares the fragments which he has discovered with the Ethiopic Order, holds that the former has come down to us in a purer and more original form than the latter [3]. On the whole, it seems probable that in some points the text of the Ethiopic Order is to be preferred, and in other points the palm is to be given to the Latin text of the Veronese fragments. So far as the section dealing with the consecra-

[1] Bishop Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, ed. 1901, p. 26.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

[3] E. Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia*, ed. 1900, *praefat.* p. viii.

tion of oil for the sick is concerned, we may regard these two documents as witnesses for one and the same form.

The other early Eastern form for consecrating oil for the sick is to be found in the so-called *Testamentum Domini*. As has been already mentioned, the Greek original of this work is not now extant. The compilation has come down to us in a Syriac translation executed by James of Edessa in the year 687, which has been published by Mgr. Rahmani; and Ethiopic and Arabic versions, as yet unpublished, exist in manuscript[1]. Dr. Harnack and Bishop John Wordsworth consider that the *Testamentum* was compiled about the year A.D. 400[2]. Professor Cooper of the University of Glasgow and Canon Maclean in their useful English translation of the book date it forty or fifty years earlier[3]. The developed phraseology and doctrinal tone of the book seem to me to savour rather of the fifth century than of the fourth; but my opportunities for studying it have not been such as to entitle me to express an opinion on the

[1] An Ethiopic version of the *Testamentum* is preserved in two MSS. at the British Museum, viz. Orient. 793 and 795.

[2] *The Ministry of Grace*, ed. 1901, pp. 30, 31.

[3] *The Testament of our Lord* (English translation), 1902, pp. 25–42.

matter with any confidence. Almost all Western critics seem to be agreed that the *Testamentum* is certainly later than the Canons of S. Hippolytus, the Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders, and the Order portions of which are preserved for us in the Verona fragments. As regards the region where the book was composed, some weighty authorities seem inclined to give the preference to Asia Minor.

I will now give in parallel columns the section on the consecration of the oil for the sick in the Verona fragments and in the Ethiopic Church Order. The latter I give in an English translation, kindly supplied to me by my friend, the Rev. G. Horner[1]. I have had the advantage of being allowed to use a copy of this translation, which had been submitted to Dr. R. H. Charles, and had been annotated and corrected in the margin by him.

| THE VERONA FRAGMENTS. | THE ETHIOPIC CHURCH ORDER. |
|---|---|
| "*Si quis oleum offert, secundum panis oblatio-* | "*Concerning the oblation. He will offer oil as (he offered) the* |

[1] With a view to this translation, Mr. Horner collated the section on the oil in four Ethiopic MSS., preserved in the British Museum, viz. Orient. 794, 796, 793, and 795, and also in two, preserved at Berlin, viz. 396 and 398.

*nem et vini et*[1] *non ad sermonem dicat, sed simili virtute gratias referat dicens:* 'Ut oleum hoc sanctificans das [*sive* des], Deus, sanitatem[2] utentibus[3] et percipientibus, unde unexisti reges, sacerdotes, et profetas, sic et omnibus gustantibus confortationem et sanitatem utentibus illud praebeat'" (Hauler, p. 107).

*oblation of the bread and the wine, giving thanks as in that ordinance. If he does not speak with those words, he will give thanks according to his ability, but also in other words saying thus:* 'Having hallowed this oil[4], grant to all, who are anointed and receive it, that with which thou didst anoint priests and prophets; and in like manner strengthen these and all who taste (it), and sanctify [? heal] them who receive it.'"

[1] Some words seem to me to have dropped out between *vini* and *et*.

[2] To me it seems probable that the word *sanitatem* is in this place an interpolation. There is nothing corresponding to it in the Ethiopic form; and it seems out of place.

[3] The word *utentibus* in the Veronese form corresponds with the expression *who are anointed* in the Ethiopic form. A learned friend suggests to me that the underlying Greek may have been χριομένοις, which had become changed into χρωμένοις in the copy used by the Latin translator.

[4] In adopting the rendering "Having hallowed this oil," I am following the reading of the Vatican MS. used by Ludolfus for his edition of the Ethiopic text (1691), and I am also availing myself of the translation of this clause, most kindly supplied to me through Mr. Horner by the distinguished Roman Orientalist Dr. Ignazio Guidi. According to the reading of the MSS. in the British Museum, the clause should run in English thus: "In Thy hallowing of the oil."

1. The first point which I notice about these rubrics and forms of consecration is this, that they are evidently closely connected with each other. There must have been some original form for blessing oil preceded by an introductory rubric, from which both the Latin and the Ethiopic sections printed above are derived.

2. Then I would point out that there is no allusion in either form to any gift of the remission of sins being imparted through the consecrated oil. As I shall show later[1], it was the uprising of a theory connecting what S. James says about the remission of sins with what he had previously said about the anointing of the sick which prepared the way for the mediaeval teaching about the sacramental character of Unction.

3. I observe next that the Verona form resembles the forms in S. Serapion's Sacramentary and in the Apostolical Constitutions, in so far as it makes no allusion to any sanctifying grace as being conveyed through the channel of the anointing. According to the Verona form, prayer is offered that the oil may become a means of supernaturally restoring health and strength. On the other hand, the Ethiopic form makes no explicit

[1] See pp. 230 ff.

mention of the gift of health, but petitions for the strengthening of those who taste the oil, and for the *sanctification* of those who receive it. All the ideas which find expression in the Verona form with its preceding rubric are present in the Ethiopic rubric and form, with the one single exception which I have indicated. The Verona prayer for health becomes in the Ethiopic a prayer for sanctification. The question to be decided is—Which of these ideas was expressed in the original Greek form, from which both the Latin and the Ethiopic were derived? Clearly the presumption is that the original Greek contained an explicit reference to the restoration of health, since that benefit constitutes the main object of the other forms for consecrating oil for the sick [1] that have come down

[1] Some one may perhaps suggest that the Ethiopic form is not intended to consecrate the *Oleum Infirmorum*, but rather to hallow that holy oil which is blessed in Russia and Greece after Vespers on most festivals and Sundays, and of which some account is given below, on pp. 382–4. But, as I have pointed out in the text, the Ethiopic and Verona forms come clearly from the same Greek original, and the Verona form plainly contemplates the restoration of health. The fact that these two forms, which are really only one, are intended to be used near the close of the Eucharistic service, and imply a previous oblation of the oil, is a clear indication that we

to us from the fourth century. Moreover, I question whether in the whole of Christian liturgical literature a form for consecrating oil for the sick could be discovered which contains no explicit petition for the restoration of health. I have no doubt, therefore, that at some stage in the process by which the primitive Greek prayer has been transmitted to the scribes who copied the existing Ethiopic MSS., in which the Ethiopic Church Order is preserved [1], the petition for restoration of health has been either accidentally or of set purpose altered into a petition for sanctification. Dr. Charles has kindly pointed out to me, through Mr. Horner, that the Ethiopic word, ḲĂDĔS, which is translated "sanctify" in the version printed on p. 105, is exactly equivalent to the Greek word *ἁγίασον*, which could easily have been written by mistake for

have to do here with the *Oleum Infirmorum*. Both at Rome and in Egypt the *Oleum Infirmorum* was offered and blessed at the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries.

[1] The earliest of these MSS. preserved in the British Museum, viz. Orient. 794, is of the earlier part of the fifteenth century. The others, belonging to the same collection, are of the eighteenth century. The Vatican MS., to which reference is made in note 4 on p. 105, is certainly not later than 1442, and may perhaps be a little earlier. I make this last statement on the authority of Dr. Ignazio Guidi.

*ἰγίασον* (grant health to). This seems a most probable account of the origin of the corruption; and I am able to corroborate Dr. Charles's ingenious suggestion by referring to the Septuagint version of Ezekiel xlvii. 11, where Tischendorf, in his fourth edition of the text of the *Codex Vaticanus* (B), prints in the text *ὑγιάσωσιν*, but mentions in his *apparatus* that the *Codex Alexandrinus* (A) reads *ἁγιάσωσιν*[1]. On the whole, I should suppose that the original Greek form for consecrating oil

[1] Similarly, in Gen. l. 14 the Sixtine edition of the LXX, published in 1587, reads *ὑπέστρεψεν*, but B reads *ἀπέστρεψεν*. In Judic. xi. 34 B reads *ὑπάντησιν*, but A reads *ἀπάντησιν*. In 1 Paral. xiv. 8 A reads *ὑπάντησιν*, but B and S read *ἀπάντησιν*. In 1 Esdr. vi. 6 A reads *ὑποσημανθῆναι*, but B reads *ἀποσημανθῆναι*. In Judith vii. 15 A reads *ὑπήντησαν*, but B and S read *ἀπήντησαν*. In Judith xiii. 13 A reads *ὑπεδέξαντο*, but $B^1$ reads *ἀπεδέξαντο*. In Esth. ii. 9 the edition of 1587 reads *ὑποδεδειγμένα*, but A, B, and S read *ἀποδεδειγμένα*. In Job xxxix. 32 S reads *ὑποκριθήσεται*, but A, B, and $S^2$ read *ἀποκριθήσεται*. In Prov. xxiv. 18 $S^1$ reads *ὑποστρέψει*, but A, B, and $S^2$ read *ἀποστρέψει*. In Eccles. ii. 10 A reads *ὑφεῖλον*, but B and S read *ἀφεῖλον*. In Sap. vi. 17 (al. 16 B reads *ὑπαντᾷ*, but A and S read *ἀπαντᾷ*. In Sap. xiii. 12 A reads *ὑπολίμματα*, but B and S read *ἀποβλήματα*. In Sap. xiv. 6 $S^1$ reads *ὑπέλιπεν*, but A, B, and $S^2$ read *ἀπέλιπεν*. In Siracid. x. 27 A reads *ὑστερῶν*, but B and S read *ἀπορῶν*. In Siracid. xxxix. 13 A and C read *ἀγροῦ*, but B reads *ἀγροῦ*. In 1 Macc. x. 68 $S^1$ reads *ὑπέστρεψεν*, but A and $S^2$ read *ἀπέστρεψεν*. In this note S stands for the *Codex Sinaiticus* (ℵ).

which underlies the Veronese Latin version and the Ethiopic version, could be represented in English by some such formula as the following: "Sanctify this oil, O God, and grant to all, who are anointed with it and receive it, that anointing with which Thou didst anoint priests and prophets; so give strength to all who taste it, and health to those who use it." It follows from what I have said that we have good reason for believing that the fourth century forms for consecrating the *Oleum Infirmorum* consistently testified in favour of the scriptural and patristic teaching about the effect to be aimed at in the Anointing of the sick.

4. It remains to speak of one minor matter connected with the forms printed on p. 105. The question may be asked—What is meant exactly by the expression which occurs in the Ethiopic form and is thus translated in the English version: "Grant to all, who are anointed and receive it [viz. the consecrated oil], that with which Thou didst anoint priests and prophets"? I would suggest in reply to that question that priests and prophets under the old dispensation were inwardly anointed with power[1] from on high

[1] So S. Peter, speaking of the mystery of our Lord's post-baptismal anointing, says (Acts x. 38): "God

through the operation of the Holy Ghost, an anointing which was, at any rate in some cases, visibly symbolized by their being anointed with oil. The gift which these priests and prophets received was, in the language of the schoolmen, a *gratia gratis data*, and was not necessarily accompanied by an infusion of sanctifying grace[1]. The thought of the composer of this prayer seems to have been that, as the priests and prophets[2]

anointed him with the Holy Ghost and *with power*." And later on, as S. Luke (vi. 19) tells us, "All the multitude sought to touch him: for *power* came forth from him, and healed them all."

[1] A man may have "the gift of prophecy" and yet "not have charity." Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 2; and compare S. Thom. *Summ. Theol.* 2. 2^dae^. qu. clxxii. art. 4.

[2] In the Latin translation of the Verona fragments the word "reges" has been added, being prefixed to the "sacerdotes et profetas." In the Gelasian and Gregorian form for consecrating the *Oleum Infirmorum*, which seems to me to have been influenced by the more ancient form preserved in the Verona fragments and the Ethiopic Church Order, the words "et martyres" are added after the clause "unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas" (see the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. Wilson, p. 70, and Muratori's *Liturgia Romana*, ed. 1748, tom. ii. col. 55; and see also p. 319, below). I suppose that the unction of the martyrs, mentioned in these Roman sacramentaries, refers to the miraculous gift of endurance of pain, sometimes amounting to actual insensibility, which in the primitive ages was conferred by the Holy Ghost on so many of the Christian martyrs, when they were being

of old were anointed with heavenly power, which supplied them with what they needed for the fulfilment of their sacerdotal or pro-

put to the torture. Thus, in the Epistle of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons, describing the persecution of the Church in Gaul in the year A.D. 177, we are told how the torturers "fastened red-hot brazen plates to the most tender parts of the body" of the holy deacon Sanctus. "And these indeed were burning, but he continued unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession, and refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the Water of Life, flowing from the bowels of Christ." Here the reference is to S. John vii. 38, as Dean Armitage Robinson has pointed out (*The Passion of S. Perpetua*, ed. Cambridge, 1891, p. 98). And later on in the same epistle we read concerning the slave-girl, S. Blandina, that "after the scourging, after the wild-beasts, after the roasting-seat, she was finally enclosed in a net and thrown before a bull. And having been tossed about by the animal, but *feeling none of the things which were happening to her, on account of her hope, and firm grasp of the things which she believed, and her communion with Christ*, she also was sacrificed." In the same epistle we read that the holy confessors of Christ went forth to the amphitheatre to be tortured "perfumed with the sweet savour of Christ, so that some supposed that they had been anointed with earthly ointment" (Euseb. *H. E.* V. i. 21–2; 35; 56). One might refer also to the *Passion of S. Perpetua and S. Felicitas* (cc. 10, 15, and 20), and to many other of the genuine Acts of the Martyrs. The close connexion which was regarded as existing between the *gratia gratis data* imparted to martyrs and to confessors who underwent torture, and the χάρισμα of priesthood imparted at ordination to presbyters, is illustrated by the *Canons of Hippolytus* (c. vi. § 43, Achelis, pp. 67-8).

phetic functions, so God was entreated to hallow the oil in such wise that sick persons, who received it, might be anointed with the healing power which, it was hoped, would first be imparted to the oil, and would then come forth from it, and that they might thus recover their health and strength.

Passing now to the *Testamentum Domini*, I will set down the prayer for the consecration of the oil of the sick and its introductory rubric, which find a place at the conclusion of the Eucharistic liturgy in that compilation; and I shall follow the English translation by Cooper and Maclean (pp. 77-8):

"*If the priest consecrate oil for the healing of those who suffer, let him say thus, quietly* [*i.e. in a low voice*], *placing the vessel before the altar*: 'O Lord God, who hast bestowed upon us the Spirit, the Paraclete, the Lord, the saving and unshaken Name, which is hidden from the foolish but revealed unto the wise; O Christ, who didst sanctify us, and by thy mercies dost make the servants whom thou choosest wise with the wisdom that is thine, who didst send the knowledge of thy Spirit to us sinners by the holiness which is thine, bestowing on us the power of the Spirit; who art the Healer of every sickness and of every suffering; who didst give the gift of healing to those who were accounted worthy

of this by thee; send on this oil, which is the type of thy fatness, the delivering [power] of thy good compassion, that it may deliver those who labour, and heal those who are sick, and sanctify those who return, when they approach to thy faith; for thou art mighty and [to be] praised for ever and ever. *Amen.' Likewise the same also over water.*"

To me it seems clear that the oil, which was hallowed by this benediction, was intended to be used for two principal purposes. It was consecrated to be a channel of supernatural healing to the sick and suffering, and it was also consecrated to prepare catechumens for the worthy reception of the gift of the new birth in Holy Baptism. It has been customary in the Church to use the holy oils for purposes which at first sight seem to have no very close connexion with each other. Thus, to take, by way of illustration, the present usage of the Roman Church, it may be mentioned that according to the authorized custom of that church, the *Oleum Infirmorum* is used not only for the sick, but also in the rite for the blessing of church bells[1]. And similarly the *Oleum Catechumenorum* is used

[1] Cf. *Pontificale Rom.*, ed. Mechlin, 1873, pars ii. pp. 261–4.

not only to prepare the catechumens for baptism, but also in the ordination of priests [1], and in the sacring of kings and queens [2], and in the solemn benediction of the water of the font [3], and in the consecration of altars, whether fixed or portable [4]. And finally the *Chrisma Principale* is used not only in Confirmation, but also for the post-baptismal vertical unction [5], and in the benediction of the water of the font [6], and in the consecration of bishops [7], and of chalices and patens [8], and of churches [9], and of altars [10], and in the blessing of church bells [11], and of the *Agnus Dei*, and of the golden rose.

I think that I have made it clear that there is no inherent improbability in the *Oleum Infirmorum* being used for a purpose in no

[1] Cf. *Pontif. Rom.*, pars i. p. 70.

[2] *Ib.*, pars i. pp. 244, 263, 274.

[3] See the service for Easter Eve in the *Missale Romanum*.

[4] Cf. *Pontif. Rom.*, pars ii. pp. 95, 99, 105, 145, 148, 153, 179, 180, 183.

[5] Cf. *Rituale Rom.*, ed. Rom., 1870, p. 37. The "vertical unction" is an unction of the top of the head.

[6] Cf. *Missale Rom.*, ed. Mechlin, 1870, pp. 202-3.

[7] Cf. *Pontif. Rom.*, pars i. pp. 101, 109.

[8] *Ib.*, pars ii. pp. 228–9.

[9] *Ib.*, pars ii. p. 110.

[10] *Ib.*, pars ii. pp. 87, 89, &c.

[11] *Ib.*, pars ii. p. 264.

way obviously connected with the sick [1]. Of course, in any church, where it was the custom to bless oil specially for the catechumens, it would not be natural to use the oil of the sick for that purpose. But the custom of anointing catechumens with hallowed oil does not seem to have been universal from the beginning. It must in all probability have begun in some one important ecclesiastical centre, and have gradually spread to other churches. There seems for example to be no trace of it in the Church of North Africa during the first three centuries. When a local church adopted the usage of anointing catechumens, it would not necessarily adopt at the same time the custom of hallowing a special oil for that purpose. It might easily use the *Oleum Infirmorum* for the pre-baptismal unction, just as the Roman Church uses it for the blessing of bells [2]; and, as it

[1] As regards some of the usages enumerated above, I cannot say whether they originated in primitive times. But the fourteenth canon of the Council of Agde (Coleti, v. 524) makes it clear that the custom of using chrism in the consecration of altars was fully established among the Catholics of Visigothic Gaul before 506, the date of the council. The canon runs thus: "Altaria placuit non solum *unctione chrismatis*, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari."

[2] Long afterwards, in the time of Charles the Great,

seems to me, there are strong reasons for thinking that such a course was in fact taken by the compiler of the *Testamentum Domini*. In the earlier part of the prayer there are allusions to the fact that God reveals His Name to *the wise*, and that our Lord imparts His *wisdom* to those whom He has elected. These allusions do not very obviously harmonize with a formula for blessing oil for the sick, but they do quite naturally harmonize with the fundamental ideas which underlie the institution of the catechumenate [1]. More-

the same holy oil seems to have been used, in some places, both for anointing the sick and also for the prebaptismal unction of the catechumens. The seventeenth of the *Capitula Ecclesiastica* promulgated by Charles at some time between the years 810 and 813 runs thus: "Ut presbyter in Coena Domini duas ampullas secum deferat, unam ad chrismam, alteram ad oleum ad cathecuminos inunguendum vel infirmos iuxta sententiam apostolicam; ut quando quis infirmatur, inducat presbyteros ecclesiae, et orent super eum, unguentes eum oleo in nomine Domini" (*Capitularia Regum Francorum*, tom. i. pars prior, pp. 178–9, *Monum. Germ. Hist., Legum* sect. ii). The above-quoted passage was incorporated by Regino, Abbot of Prüm, into his *Libellus de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis et Religione Christiana*, where it constitutes the 75th *capitulum* of the first book (*P. L.* cxxxii. 206). Regino died in 915.

[1] Compare the Gelasian formula for giving exorcized salt to the catechumens: "Accipe *Ille* sal *sapientiae* propitiatus in vitam aeternam." See the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. Wilson, p. 47.

over in the concluding portion of the prayer there is a petition in which the Lord is implored to "sanctify those who return, *when they approach to thy faith.*" This seems to describe exactly the position of catechumens. It bears, indeed, a marked resemblance to a petition which occurs in the Gelasian and Gregorian formula for blessing the *Oleum Catechumenorum*. According to that formula, the bishop prays that "the preparation of this anointing oil may be helpful towards salvation for Thy servants *who are approaching to the faith*, and who are to be cleansed by the operation of the Holy Spirit[1]." It is clear that some portions of the form for consecrating the *Oleum Infirmorum* in the *Testamentum Domini*, seem to contemplate the oil being used for a pre-baptismal unction of catechumens. On the other hand, other portions of that form and its introductory rubric make it absolutely certain that the primary purpose of the hallowing of the oil is to constitute it an oil for conveying health to the sick.

[1] "Venientibus ad fidem servis tuis, et Sancti Spiritus operatione mundandis, sit unctionis huius praeparatio utilis ad salutem." See the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. Wilson, p. 70, and Muratori's edition of the *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, ii. 57.

At this point in the argument, it seems well to say that in the baptismal rites of the Oriental Christian bodies there are two pre-baptismal unctions. That is the custom followed in the baptismal rites of the Copts [1], of the Maronites [2], of the Nestorians [3], and of the Syrian Monophysites [4]. These later baptismal rites, arranged primarily with a view to the baptism of infants, and which have assumed their present form in consequence of the system of the catechumenate having become obsolete, aggregate into one service the various ceremonies and prayers which, in the primitive ages, belonged to different services used at different stages in the initiation of the new convert. In the earlier period these Eastern churches were accustomed to anoint the new convert on his admission as a catechumen, and then they anointed him again immediately before his baptism. It was otherwise in the West and at Constantinople. In those regions there was only one pre-baptismal anointing, either

[1] Cf. J. A. Assemani, *Cod. Liturg. Eccl. Univ.*, ed. 1749, tom. i. pp. 148, 163.

[2] Cf. Assemani, *op. cit.*, tom. ii. pp. 332, 348.

[3] Cf. Assemani, *op. cit.*, tom. i. p. 201 et tom. iv. pp. 211, 224.

[4] Cf. Assemani, *op. cit.*, tom. i. pp. 217-8, 239-40.

as in Spain[1], and in Africa in the time of S. Augustine[2], and probably also in Gaul[3], on admission to the catechumenate, or, as elsewhere, shortly before the baptism.

It is clear that the compiler of the *Testamentum Domini* followed the Oriental usage. He intended candidates for baptism to be anointed twice, once when they were admitted to the catechumenate, and a second time as an immediate preliminary to the actual baptism. In chapter viii of the second book of the *Testamentum*, he is describing the baptismal ceremonies of Easter Eve. He has got to the point where the holy oils are to be blessed. There were two different oils. There was (1) the oil of thanksgiving, more usually called in later times the ἅγιον μύρον in the East and the *Chrisma principale* in

[1] Cf. S. Isidor. Hispal. *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ii. xxi. 2 (*P. L.* lxxxiii. 814), where he is speaking of the catechumens, not of the *competentes*. See also S. Hildefons. Tolet. *de Cognit. Bapt.* cap. xxix. (*P. L.* xcvi. 124). S. Hildefonsus is also speaking of catechumens, not of *competentes*.

[2] See S. Augustine's comment on S. John ix. 6 (*Tract. XLIV. in S. Ioann. Ev.* § 2, *P. L.* xxxv. 1714).

[3] Cf. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 2de édit., p. 319 (Eng. tr. p. 331). But the passage from the *Vita S. Caesarii Arelat.*, quoted above in note 1 on p. 88, would seem to imply that at Arles in the sixth century it was the *competentes* who were anointed, and that the unction was administered on the very day of their baptism.

the West, which was applied to the neophyte immediately after the baptism; and there was (2) the oil of exorcism, that is to say the *Oleum Catechumenorum*, with which the candidate was anointed immediately before his baptism. And this is how the hallowing of the oils is described: "When they are about to receive the oil for anointing, let the bishop pray over it and give thanks; and let him exorcize another [oil] with an exorcism, *the same as in the case of catechumens.*" Here, for the formula to be used by the bishop in blessing[1] the oil for the final pre-baptismal unction, he is referred to the formula already provided for blessing the oil to be used at the admission of catechumens.

[1] In the liturgies the same formula is often described both as an *Exorcismus* and a *Benedictio*. Thus, in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 70) the rubric, introducing the form for blessing the *Oleum Catechumenorum*, runs thus: "*Ibique oblato a diacono olio sic benedicendum*"; and then there follows the form of benediction, beginning with the words, "Deus incrementorum." But in the Gregorian Sacramentary (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.*, ed. Muratori, tom. ii. coll. 56-7) that very same formula (with only five words dropped) is called an *Exorcismus olei*. So in the Gelasian book (p. 47) there is a formula which is headed: "*Benedictio salis dandi catechumenis.*" But this *Benedictio* begins with the words: "Exorcizo te, creatura salis." Compare also a passage from Sulpicius Severus quoted on pp. 160, 161.

Now the only formula provided in the *Testamentum Domini* for hallowing oil is the form for blessing the *Oleum Infirmorum*, of which an English translation is printed above, on pp. 113, 114. As we have already seen, there are good reasons, based on internal evidence, for supposing that the oil over which that formula was said was intended to be used not only for the sick, but also for catechumens. That conclusion seems to me to be corroborated by the direction given to the bishop to use for the hallowing of the *Oleum Catechumenorum* on Easter Eve some formula which, it is implied, has been already provided; and as has been pointed out, there is no other form for blessing oil provided, except the benediction of the *Oleum Infirmorum*, printed on pp. 113, 114.

[I might have spared myself and my readers a good deal of trouble, if I had noticed, at an earlier stage in the printing of this book, the fact that Denzinger (*Ritus Orientalium*, tom. ii. pp. 551, 363, and 263) shows very clearly that both the Syrian Jacobites and the Copts have the custom of blessing one and the same oil for the sick and for the catechumens[1]. This

[1] A translation of the Syrian Jacobite form for consecrating oil, which is to serve both for the catechumens

fact is a strong confirmation of the conclusion to which I had come, that in the *Testamentum Domini* the *Oleum Infirmorum* was intended to be used not only for the sick but also for the catechumens.]

The final upshot of this discussion of the form for blessing oil in the *Testamentum Domini* is this, that, in so far as the oil is being blessed with a view to the anointing of the sick, it is simply regarded as a channel for conveying to the sick person the healing effects of the operation of the Holy Ghost. The author or compiler of the *Testamentum Domini* had evidently in view, not the sacramental Unction of the middle ages, but the Jacobean Unction of primitive times. And this result is confirmed by the rubric which follows the formula for blessing the oil. That rubric runs: "*Likewise the same also over water.*" As in the Sacramentary of Serapion and the Apostolical Constitutions, so also in the *Testamentum*, the holy oil and the holy water are put on a level.

It appears, therefore, that the early liturgical witness of the East concerning the

and for the sick, is printed below, in Appendix I, on pp. 321, 322.

Anointing of the sick is consistent with itself and also with the teaching of S. James.

I now turn to the Latin Sacramentaries, the Gelasian and the Gregorian. Of these, the Gregorian Sacramentary in its original form was compiled by S. Gregory the Great, who occupied the Roman see from A.D. 590 to A.D. 604. But, as I have already pointed out, liturgical documents are always liable to interpolation, and our earliest existing MSS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary belong to the ninth century. The so-called Gelasian book seems for the most part to represent the Roman Sacramentary before the time of S. Gregory the Great, that is to say in the sixth century; but nevertheless some post-Gregorian as well as some Gallican elements are found in it. We find in both these books in the service for Maundy Thursday a formula for consecrating the *Oleum Infirmorum.* There are some small variations of reading, which differentiate the Gelasian MSS. from the Gregorian, but practically both Sacramentaries preserve the same formula. In the Gregorian Sacramentary[1] it runs thus: "Send forth, O Lord, from the heavens thy

[1] *Liturgia Rom. Vet.*, ed. Muratori, Venet. 1748, tom ii. col. 55.

Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, into this fatness of the olive, which thou hast deigned to bring forth out of the green tree for the refreshment of the body; that by thy holy benediction it may become to every one who touches this ointment ('omni unguentum[1] tangenti') a means of protection ('tutamentum') for mind and body, for getting rid of all pains, all illnesses, all sickness of the body, and that it may be thy perfect chrism, whence thou didst anoint priests, kings, prophets, and martyrs, blessed, O Lord, by thee in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ[2]." This form of consecrating the oil for the Unction of the sick contains no reference to the remission of sins or to any sanctifying grace. It has in view the curing of bodily disease and the protection of mind and body from harm[3]. It was evidently composed before the theory had been invented

[1] Here Muratori reads "unguenti," which cannot be right. The Benedictine text reprinted by Migne (*P. L.* lxxviii. 83) reads "unguentum."

[2] The Latin text of this prayer, as it stands in the Gelasian Sacramentary, together with the variants of any importance in Muratori's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, will be found below, in Appendix I, on p. 319.

[3] Two Ambrosian forms for consecrating the oil will be found below, in Appendix I, on pp. 323-6. In them also there is no reference to remission of sins or to any sanctifying grace.

which assigns to the oil the function of remitting sins. It is interesting to compare it with a much later form given by Martene, and copied by him from a manuscript Pontifical of about the year 1100, that is to say 500 years after the time of S. Gregory. In this later form occurs the following petition[1]: "We beseech thee that thou wouldest hallow this oil by blessing it, and wouldest purify all those, who shall be anointed with it from all leprosy of sins." If the same belief in the power of the oil to impart remission of sins had been held by S. Gregory, as was evidently held by the composer of the prayer printed by Martene, it is inconceivable that all reference to such a supremely important result of the application of the oil should have been omitted from the Gregorian form for consecrating it.

I have not been able to discover any form for *administering* Unction in the Gelasian Sacramentary, although there is no doubt that the sick were anointed by those who used that Sacramentary, because, as I have already mentioned, it contains a form for consecrating the oil for the sick. There are various forms for administering Unction

[1] Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Ritt.*, ed. Antwerp, 1737, tom. iii. col. 250.

in different MSS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary: but as the forms vary, and the MSS. are more than 200 years later than the time of S. Gregory[1], it is impossible to

[1] It may, however, be noted that there is no *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* in Muratori's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary. That fact shows that Muratori did not consider that an *Ordo* for anointing formed any part of the Sacramentary, as it came from S. Gregory's hands. But it may possibly have formed part of the *Gregorianum* in the copy sent to Charles by Pope Hadrian I in 788 or thereabouts. Additions were being made continually to the Roman Sacramentary between the time of Gregory and the time of Hadrian. It is much to be hoped that the progress of research will soon make clear to us exactly what was and what was not contained in the Hadrianic book. [[Since the previous portion of this note was written, Mr. Edmund Bishop's article on *Some early MSS. of the Gregorianum* has been published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April, 1903. On p. 425 Mr. Bishop, having reserved his judgement on the question whether a certain group of Sunday masses was or was not contained in the Hadrianic book, says: "It is, I think, already clear that, taking into account the whole body of 'Gregorian' MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, one class of them, and one only, preserves the *Gregorianum*, the actual book sent by Hadrian to Charles, viz. that represented in print by *Reg.* [i. e. Vat. Regin. 337 printed by Muratori in the *Liturgia Rom. Vet.*] —when, of course, that print is restored to the order of the MS. itself, viz. Mur. ii, coll. 1-6 + 357 361 + 7 138 + 241–272. I would add, moreover, that from this book alone can the rites and formularies, and the authentic text of the prayers, in use in the Roman Church at the close of the eighth century be ascertained." If this

say whether any of these forms were to be found in the Sacramentary as it was compiled by the Saint. As a matter of fact, these forms seem to me to savour of the age of Charles the Great and his immediate successors, when new ideas about the effect of the Unction were spreading in the West[1]. If S. Bede had been accustomed to use any of them, he would hardly have written about Unction and about the passage in S. James in the way that, as we have seen (pp. 48, 49), he did write.

Ultimately it became the custom in the Latin Church, at any rate in those portions of it which follow the Roman use, to anoint the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, feet, and reins; and at each several anointing the priest says: "Through this holy Unction, and his own most tender mercy, may the Lord forgive you whereinsoever you have sinned through

be true (and the fact that so careful and learned a scholar as Mr. Bishop speaks with such assurance is a very considerable guarantee of its truth) there was no *Ordo ad ungendum infirmum* in the Hadrianic book, and *a fortiori* there was none in S. Gregory's own book.]]

[1] There are three very short and simple forms for administering the *Oleum Infirmorum* to be found in three Irish services for the Visitation, Anointing, and Communion of the sick. These forms will be found below, in Appendix I, pp. 326–32. The earliest of these services seems to date from about the time of Charles the Great.

your sense of sight," or "through your sense of hearing," or "through your sense of smell," &c., adapting the formula to the particular part of the body which was at that moment being anointed. It will be observed that the formula lays the whole emphasis on the gift of the remission of sins. It says nothing about any gift of spiritual comfort or exhilaration, nor does it say anything about the healing of the body, or the driving away of demons. It concentrates attention on the supreme gift of the remission of sins. And, no doubt, if remission of sins is given through the oil, the *Rituale Romanum* is right to lay the chief emphasis on that special fruit of the Unction [1]. Compared with the remission of sins, the gift of physical recovery of health is a thing of

[1] I do not wish to be misunderstood. There are prayers in the modern Roman Office for administering Extreme Unction, which ask God to restore physical health. But this effect is not mentioned in the formula which immediately accompanies the anointing. In that formula only the remission of sins is asked for. In extreme cases, when death seems imminent, all other prayers are omitted, and only the prayer for remission, together with the anointing, is used. In other words, the prayer for remission is regarded as the one indispensable kernel of the whole rite, which can under no circumstances be omitted. The principal prayers of the Roman Office for administering Extreme Unction will be found below, in Appendix I, on pp. 337–9.

infinitely smaller importance. Why is it, then, that the holy Fathers, when speaking of Unction, make no reference to the remission of sins, and refer only to the gift of physical healing? It is not that they ignore the remission of sins. They are always talking about it. But they never talk about it in connexion with the Unction of the sick[1]. Obviously, it was because they did not believe that God had instituted Unction as a channel of remission.

When we pass from the early mediaeval West to the early mediaeval East, we find ourselves, so far as the practice of the Anointing of the sick is concerned, in a country with very few landmarks. At least that is the position in which I find myself. I should rejoice if any who may chance to read this book should find themselves able to throw light on the history of the change of opinion in regard to the Unction of the sick which must have taken place in the East during the early middle ages. That there was a change of opinion in the East, similar to the change which we are able in a measure to trace in the West, seems to me to be quite

[1] For a discussion of a certain *Benedictio Olei* in the Bobbio Missal, in which a reference *is* made to the gift of the remission of sins, see below, in Appendix III, on pp. 381–96.

manifest. We have seen that Origen and S. Chrysostom connected the remission of sins, spoken of by S. James, with the sacrament of Penance, and we may conclude that they did not connect it in any way with the Unction. We have also seen that S. Serapion puts the *Oleum Infirmorum* on a line with holy water and blessed bread (*Pain bénit*), and connects it with the curing of physical sickness of mind and body, but does not connect it with the remission of sins, except in one clause of one prayer, which, for reasons given on pp. 90–100, I believe to have been inserted by a later copyist. We have seen also similar teaching in the Church Order which underlies the Verona Fragments and the closely allied Ethiopic rite, and we have traced it also in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and in the *Testamentum Domini*. Finally, we have seen that Victor of Antioch in the sixth century seems to imply that the Unction mentioned by S. James was not in use at Antioch in his time. He also refrains from connecting the remission of sins with the Jacobean Unction. In the Greek Christian literature of the East during the first five centuries, there is no trace of the notion that the Unction of the sick is a sacrament in the later scholastic sense of that word. No suggestion that the Unction conveys

*ex opere operato* remission of sins and other sanctifying graces to those who receive it with the proper dispositions is to be anywhere discovered [1].

On the other hand, in the Great Euchologion of the modern Greek Church there is an Order for the ministration of the holy oil (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐλαίου), a very long and elaborate service, which normally requires for its solemn performance the presence and co-operation of seven priests; and it is evident that this service was constructed on the basis of the theory that the consecrated oil does convey the remission of sins to those who are anointed. In the course of the second prayer for the benediction of the oil, the priest prays thus [2]: "Send down thy Holy Spirit and sanctify this oil; and make it to be for thy servant N., who is being anointed, for perfect redemption of his sins with a view to his inheriting the kingdom of the heavens." In another prayer in the Office occurs the following petition [3]: "Grant healing to thy servant N., who is in weakness of soul and body, giving to him

[1] For the proof that the Fathers who wrote in Syriac agreed in these matters with their brethren who wrote in Greek, see below, in Appendix II, on pp. 346–80.

[2] Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, ed. Venet. 1891, p. 270.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

remission of sins and forgiveness of his trespasses, both voluntary and involuntary." And, if it were needful, many other similar passages might be quoted from the various prayers which are used in the course of this service. I wish that it were possible for me to say with any confidence when this service was drawn up. But I have no reason to think that the chronology of the composition of the minor liturgical services of the Eastern Church has as yet been critically investigated. Possibly, if I were acquainted with the Russian language, I might have access to books which would throw light on this matter. But that door is closed to me. I will, however, mention such points as occur to me as likely to throw some light on the matter. The service may be said roughly to consist of the following parts. There is first a special shortened form of the Office of Lauds, which includes two of the psalms of David, and a rhythmical Canon, composed of eight sets of troparia to be used in connexion with the eight[1] Odes or Canticles from the Old and New Testaments. This Canon was composed by a certain Arsenius[2].

[1] The full number of Odes at Lauds is nine, but the second is only used on Tuesdays in Lent.

[2] The canon is constructed so as to form an acrostic,

Then the priest of greatest dignity says the first prayer for the blessing of the oil, while in the meanwhile eleven troparia are sung. After that the first epistle is read, followed by the first gospel; then follows the second prayer for the blessing of the oil. Then the senior priest says two prayers, during the second of which he anoints the sick man. Then the second epistle is read, and the second gospel; and then the second priest says two prayers, during the second of which *he* anoints the sick man. And so the service proceeds, until seven epistles and seven gospels have been read, and each of the seven priests has said two prayers, during the second of which he has anointed the sick man. The first of these two prayers is varied each time; but the second prayer, which is said while the anointing is being carried out, does not vary, but is repeated seven times, each priest reciting it while he anoints. After the last priest has completed his Unction, the senior priest places the book of the Gospels on the head of the sick man, and all the priests lay their hands on it, while a prayer for the forgiveness of

and the name of the author, Arsenius, forms part of the acrostic. The full wording of the acrostic runs thus: "A psalm of the prayer of the oil from Arsenius" (Εὐχῆς ἐλαίου ψαλμὸς ἐξ Ἀρσενίου).

the man's sins is offered. Arsenius, the composer of the rhythmical canon in the introductory part of the service, ought, I suppose, to be identified with Arsenius a monk of the great monastery of the Studium in Constantinople [1]. He was one of a band of hymn-writers connected with that monastery who flourished in the ninth century. If that be so, we may conclude that the Office in its present form is not earlier than the ninth century [2]. Of course it is possible that Arse-

[1] See Cardinal Pitra's *Hymnographie de l'Église Grecque*, p. 55, and compare the Abbé Marin's *Moines de Constantinople*, p. 504. In Pitra's list of Greek hymn-writers mention is also made of a certain Arsenius of Pergamum. I have not been able to discover his date. But there are many reasons for thinking that the Greek Office for the Prayer-oil was compiled at Constantinople; and it is much more probable that the rhythmical canon, which occurs in that service, should be attributed to Arsenius, the monk of the Studium, than to his namesake of Pergamum. [Since writing the preceding portion of this note, I have been informed that in the East the Canon of the Prayer-Oil is attributed to S. Arsenius, Bishop of Corfu, who corresponded with the Patriarch Photius, and must therefore have lived in the ninth century, and must, presumably, have been a contemporary of his namesake of the Studium.]

[2] The very core of the whole Office, that is to say the prayer which is repeated by each of the seven priests while he is anointing the sick man, contains a reference to S. Sampson the Receiver of Strangers, who died at Constantinople *circa* 520. It is evident that that central

nius's Canon may have been a later addition. At present, however, I am not aware of any facts which point to any such conclusion; and therefore we may provisionally suppose that the service was drawn up either in the ninth century or later. [But see below, on pp. 221–7.] As we have seen, it was probably in the latter part of the eighth century, or in the first half of the ninth, that the sacramental view of Unction found its first clear expression in the West[1]; and considering the fact that during the last fifteen years of the eighth century and during the greater part of the ninth, the Eastern and Western churches were in communion with each other, the sacramental view of Unction might easily spread from the one to the other; that is to say, either from the East to the West, or, from the West to the East.

At some time or other after the drawing up of the Byzantine Office, it seems to have been taken as a model for similar Offices composed for the Monophysite bodies in the East.

prayer did not come down from primitive times. I see that De Launoi, a staunch supporter of the Tridentine teaching about the Unction of the sick, does not venture to assign the Greek office for administering the Prayer-Oil to an earlier date than the ninth century (cf. *Launoii Opera*, edit. 1731, tom. i. pars. i. p. 449).

[1] See above, on p. 78.

Offices of this kind exist in Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic [1]. It was by no means an unknown thing for these separated sects to borrow liturgical forms from the Orthodox Eastern Church. In a recent number of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* [2] a Uniat Greek belonging to the Augustinians of the Assumption, named Sophronius Petrides, mentions the fact that the feast of S. Romanus, the Melodist, an Orthodox Saint who died after the Monophysites had seceded from the Church, was borrowed by the Armenians from the Kalendar of the Church of Constantinople. The learned Greek writer to whom I have just now referred, and who is a member of the Roman communion, says in his article: "One may suppose

[1] Compare Neale's *General Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. ii. p. 1036. The authors of the *Perpétuité de la Foi sur les Sacrements* liv. v. ch. 2, ed. 1841, tom. iii. col. 922 say: "Toutes les objections qu'on peut donc faire contre les rites orientaux qui regardent l'administration de l huile bénite aux malades se peuvent former contre les rites grecs, *qui sont l'original des autres*." Similarly Mr. Brightman (*J. T. S.* i. 261) says: "The present Coptic rite of the Unction of the sick, like the Armenian, and with some modifications the Syrian, is identical in structure, and for the most part in matter, with the Byzantine, and consists of a sevenfold series of lections, hymns and prayers."

[2] See the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for October 23, 1902, p. 359.

that the introduction of the *cultus* of S. Romanus into the Armenian Church goes back to the ninth century, when friendly relations existed between the Greek and the Armenian Churches, and when certain liturgical borrowings took place." A still better instance of the borrowing of a Byzantine rite by the Monophysite sects of the East may be found in the great hallowing of water which takes place all over the East on the Eve of the Epiphany, in memory of our Lord's Baptism. The service used in connexion with this rite, or a part of it, was translated from Greek into Coptic and Syriac, and was used by the Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Syria. Dr. Budge, of the British Museum, says[1] that the Syriac version must be as old as the latter half of the seventh century; that is to say, that the service was taken over by the Syrian Monophysites more than two hundred years after their separation from the Communion of the Church. It would seem that the main part of the service was translated from the Greek into Syriac by James of Edessa, who died in 708 or 710. As regards the service for the

[1] See *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany*, edit. by John, Marquess of Bute, and E. A. Wallis Budge, pp. vi, vii.

Prayer-oil, when once it had been borrowed by any one of the Monophysite churches, the rite would easily spread to the others. However, the service is now never used by the Armenians, and is very rarely used by the Copts. Galanus tells us[1] that the Armenian authorities prohibited its use, because they found that their people were neglecting the sacrament of Penance, and putting their trust in the remission of sins which was supposed to be imparted by the Prayer-oil.

The fact that the new Constantinopolitan Office for the ministration of Unction to the sick became the model on which were framed Monophysite offices for use in the Monophysite churches of Armenia, Syria and Egypt, is very remarkable. We know that in Syria and Egypt there existed in the fourth century liturgical forms for consecrating oil for the sick. But the oil so consecrated was not supposed to convey sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*. There do not seem to have existed in Syria and Egypt offices of native growth for administering a *sacramental* Unction, by means of which men could obtain the remission of sins and other sanctifying graces. If such

[1] Cf. Galan. *Conciliat. Eccl. Armen. cum Rom.* tom. iii. p. 632, ed. Rom., 1661.

native offices had existed, one would suppose that either in Syria or in Egypt or in Armenia they would have maintained their position, or that at the very least copies of them would have been preserved. But nothing of this kind has happened. We have no reason to think that there ever were in those countries any native *sacramental* offices for administering Unction[1]. When the fashion for sacramental offices of Unction set in, the new Constantinopolitan office had to be borrowed and copied.

Only among the Nestorians, who for the most part lived beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, there are no traces of any use having been made of the Constantinopolitan office for Unction. Do we, then, find among the Nestorians a native sacramental office? On the contrary, there is not the slightest trace of any Nestorian office for ministering

[1] In the eighth century the Armenians practised the Unction of the sick. In the eleventh of the canons of Ohannes (John) Otznetzi, the philosopher, a famous Catholicos of Armenia (717–728), the following direction is given :—"Oportet sacerdotem benedicere oleum infirmorum, orationibus propriis adhibitis, quantum sufficit illius horae usui" (cf. Mai. *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Collect.* tom. x. part. 2, p. 304). This canon shows that Unction was in regular use; but there is nothing which implies sacramentality. It is fair to say also that there is nothing incompatible with sacramentality.

sacramental Unction having ever existed[1]. What we do find is exactly what we should expect to find. We find that among the Nestorians the ancient rite, which existed in Egypt and Syria in the fourth century, still survives[2]. They consecrate oil and water with the same formula of benediction, and they use it for the healing of diseases of body and soul, but not for the remission of sins or for the imparting of sanctifying grace. The only change that they have made in this rite is that, for the last thousand years and more, they mingle with the oil or with the water some particles of the relic of some Saint, or dust taken from a Saint's sepulchre or from the site of his martyrdom. They call this dust from the sepulchre or other relic, "The Grace of such and such a Saint." Denzinger, the learned Roman Catholic author of the book entitled *Ritus Orientalium*, says[3]: "There is no mention made of Extreme Unction in the ritual books of the Nestorians, nor does Ebedjesus of Nisibis allude to it in his treatise entitled *The Pearl*[4]," a treatise divided into five

[1] For the Nestorian practice about the Unction of the sick in the sixth century see below, pp. 375-9.

[2] But see note 2 on p. 143.

[3] Denzinger, *Ritus Oriental.* ed. 1863, tom. i. p. 184.

[4] Ebedjesus wrote *The Pearl* in 1298.

sections, in one of which the author "describes the Sacraments of the Church."

"This alone," says Denzinger, "survives among them, that they anoint the sick with oil, with which they have mixed the *Hanana* or *Grace* of some Saint, that is to say dust from his sepulchre—more especially dust from the sepulchre of S. Thomas—and which they have blessed with the same rite as they use when they make the *Ablutio*, or, in other words, Holy Water."

The Nestorian formula for blessing the *Hanana* and mingling it with the oil or water runs thus [1]:

"'Bless it, O Lord the mighty God, with thy blessing, and hallow it with thy holiness, and make the Right Hand of thy mercy and the power of the Holy Ghost to abide in it, and grant by means of it to those who receive it health of body and soul, in the Name of the glorious Trinity.' *Then put the* Hanana *into the oil, and say*: 'This oil is signed and hallowed and commingled with the *Hanana* of such and such a Saint in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and always and to ages of ages. Amen.'"

And the rubric at the end of the Office adds: "*And in this same way make the Holy Water.*"

[1] Denzinger, *Ritus Oriental.* tom. ii. p. 518.

Dr. Neale is mistaken when he says about Extreme Unction: "The Nestorians had it, as appears clearly from George of Arbela[1]," Neale was no doubt misled by J. S. Assemani; but Assemani himself supplies the materials for his own refutation. In the second part of the third volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (p. cclxxvii) Assemani, speaking about the Nestorians, says:

"In place of the olive oil which they used to bless for the sick, they now make a certain compound of oil, water and dust, or relics of some Saint which they call *Hanana* or *Tailutha*, that is *the Grace* of such and such a Saint, and they keep it in a horn or vessel in the church, to use for the sick."

Here Assemani describes the present usage[2] of the Nestorians, which he contrasts with what he supposes to have been the better usage of some anterior time. In the previous

[1] Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church, General Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 1036.

[2] Instead of saying that Assemani describes "the *present* usage of the Nestorians," it would be more accurate to say that he describes the usage of the Nestorians as it existed in his time, that is to say in the eighteenth century. I am informed by the Rev. F. F. Irving, who was formerly attached to the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Assyrian Christians, that the custom of anointing the sick has at the present time fallen into complete desuetude among them.

page (p. cclxxvi) he describes, on the authority of George of Arbela, a writer of the tenth century, what that earlier usage was. He says:

"George of Arbela makes mention of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction in his questions concerning Baptism (42, 44, 48, 49 & 50), where he testifies that it is preserved in the church for the sick in a vessel, which they call The horn of the Grace of the Saint."

So it appears that in the time of George of Arbela, who was Metropolitan of Arbela and Mosul from 945 to 987, the Nestorians had exactly the same usage in this matter as they have now. They used then, as now, not pure olive oil, but oil mixed with the *Hanana*. And George says nothing to make us suppose that in his time they used this mixture for a different purpose from that for which they use it now. Denzinger, who takes nearly all his information on these matters from Assemani, very prudently refrains from following Assemani, when he cites George as a witness to show that in old times the Nestorians had the sacrament of Extreme Unction. But Denzinger is very anxious to support Assemani's thesis that formerly the Nestorians did know and use Extreme Unction; and, though he refrains from appealing to

George of Arbela, he is misled into borrowing from Assemani an argument which is, if possible, weaker than the one which he sets aside. Denzinger says:

"The fact, however, that Extreme Unction had formerly a place among the rites of the Nestorians is clearly enough intimated by those words of the Ordination of Presbyters, in which among their functions this one also is reckoned —'that they may lay their hands upon the sick, and they may be cured[1].'"

This is, no doubt, a very interesting clause in the Nestorian formula for the ordination of Presbyters, and I hope to say more about it later on[2]; but it is absurd to say that it proves that at one time the Nestorians were in possession of and used the sacrament of Extreme Unction. It makes no reference either to unction or to oil, but to the imposition of hands for the healing of the sick. And even if, for the sake of argument, one were to waive that fundamental reply, and were to suppose that the laying on of hands involved anointing, it would still remain the fact that the only effect of the rite, mentioned in the clause, is the curing of sickness. Nothing is said about the remission of sins or about any

[1] Denzinger, *Rit. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 184.

[2] See pp. 291–3, below.

sanctifying grace. There would, therefore, be no trace of a *sacramental* use of oil, but only of oil used as a supernatural means of cure. Such an Unction would be Jacobean rather than Tridentine. The complete failure of these attempts, made by learned men, to prove that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was at one time in use among the Nestorians, will probably have the effect of satisfying us that a sacramental use of Unction for the sick was never adopted by the East Syrian or Persian Church, whether before or after its lapse into heresy. If any particle of real proof existed and was accessible, one may be morally sure that Assemani would have known of it, and would have produced it; for he was evidently well aware of the controversial importance of the point.

It will, perhaps, be good that I should illustrate the importance of this point by referring to Bishop Forbes of Brechin's argument in favour of the sacramental character of the rite of Anointing the sick. He rightly feels that it is necessary to show that we have no good reason to doubt that a sacramental use of Unction has existed in the Church from the beginning. But he also feels how very unsatisfactory is the patristic

evidence usually quoted by Roman Catholic divines in favour of that position. This is how he gets over the difficulty. He says[1]:

"The meagreness of tradition is, however, replaced in some measure by the agreement of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and all the Orientals, with the Latins on this subject: so that one cannot doubt that a sacramental use of Anointing the sick has been from the beginning."

The bishop would not have attempted to pile up such a weight of conclusion upon the foundation of this argument, if he had realized what a frail structure the argument really is. The Nestorians neither do agree nor ever have agreed with the later Latin theory on this subject. The Armenians, Syrians, and Copts have no primitive traditions of their own supporting the later Latin theory. On the contrary, the Apostolical Constitutions and the Sacramentary of Serapion show that Syria and Egypt had in the fourth century inherited traditions which militate against the later Latin theory; and the more modern practice of the Armenians, Syrians, and Copts was borrowed by one or other of them from

[1] Bishop Forbes's *Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*, ed. 1871, p. 469.

the Byzantine Greeks. So that the argument really reduces itself to the agreement of the later Greeks and later Latins, against which has to be set the witness of their own earlier Fathers, the witness of the early Latin sacramentaries, the witness of the earlier practice of Egypt and Syria, and of various early Eastern Church Orders, and the unchanged witness of the further East in Mesopotamia and Persia, not to mention the more fundamental adverse witness of the blessed Apostle S. James. In my humble opinion, the bishop's argument is simply *destroyed* by this *consensus* of adverse witnesses of the weightiest kind.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Historical Instances of the Administration of Unction to the Sick.

I propose to use the greater part of this chapter for the setting forth of a number of historical instances of holy oil being used by Christian people with the object of curing their sick brethren; and I shall take my instances from records belonging to the earlier ages of the Church's history. The evidence of S. James's Epistle shows that this was the practice of the Church in the first century, at any rate in some places; and in the preceding chapter I have proved by liturgical evidence that the practice of consecrating oil for the sick can be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century, and perhaps to an earlier date[1].

#### *The evidence of the second and third centuries.*

It so happens that I have no historical instances to quote from the records of the

[1] See pp. 100, 101, above.

second and third centuries, although I have no doubt whatsoever that the apostolic practice was continued in the Church during those ages[1]. One might indeed refer to a fact mentioned by Tertullian in the fourth chapter of his *Ad Scapulam*, written in the year 211. Reference is there made to a number of cases in which *heathen* persons had been supernaturally healed by Christians; and in one very conspicuous instance it is expressly stated that the healing was effected by the use of oil. I will quote the whole passage. Tertullian is pleading with Scapula, who was Proconsul of Africa, and was persecuting the Church. He has mentioned instances of other Roman magistrates who had dealt humanely

[1] In confirmation of the opinion expressed in the text reference may be made to the canons of Hippolytus. Those canons are generally assigned to the end of the second century or to the earlier part of the third century; and in the twenty-eighth canon the following direction is given :—"Quodsi adest oleum, oret super illud hoc modo" (*Canones Hippolyti*, ed. Achelis, p. 56). The place at which this direction occurs in the service, namely between the consecration of the Eucharist and the blessing of the firstfruits, makes it clear that the oil, to which reference is made in the canon, is the *Oleum Infirmorum*. I do not know of any instance of the chrism or the oil of the catechumens being blessed at that point in the service; whereas there are many instances of the *Oleum Infirmorum* being blessed there.

with Christians accused at their bar. Then he says:

"All these things might be brought under your notice officially (*de officio*), and by the very advocates, who are themselves under obligations to Christians, although in court they give their voice as it suits them. For the clerk (*notarius*) of one of them, who was liable to be thrown on the ground by a demon, was set free from his affliction; as was also the kinsman of another, and the little boy of a third. And how many men of rank (to say nothing of common people) have been delivered from either demons or diseases! Even Severus himself[1], the father of Antonius (Caracalla), was graciously mindful of the Christians; for he sought out the Christian Proculus, surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Euhodias, and in gratitude for his having once cured him with oil (*per oleum*), he kept him in his palace till the day of his death[2]."

Tertullian in the whole of this passage seems to be speaking of supernatural cures wrought by Christians for the benefit of heathens. And we may be sure that, if Christians used oil to cure heathens supernaturally, much more did they use it for the

[1] This was the Emperor Septimius Severus.

[2] Tertull. *ad Scapulam*, cap. iv.

supernatural cure of their own sick people [1], in accordance with the apostolic direction.

[1] In further corroboration of this conclusion, I would call attention to the following passage from an article by Mr. Brightman (*J. T. S.* i. 261). He is speaking of the formula in the Sacramentary of Serapion for hallowing oil, water, and bread for the healing of the sick; and he says: "Clement of Alexandria seems to refer to all three of these rites (*Excerpta* 82). Anyhow, he clearly distinguishes exorcized water from the water of baptism (*τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐξορκιζόμενον καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα γινόμενον*), and the collocation of bread and oil (*ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον*) with the reference to the consecration by the Name (*ἁγιάζεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ὀνόματος . . .*) suggests the bread and oil of the sick rather than the Eucharist and Baptism." The excerpt to which Mr. Brightman is here alluding will be found on p. 988 of Abp. Potter's edition of the Works of S. Clement of Alexandria (Oxon. 1715). If the excerpt is describing the practice of the Catholic Church, it supplies good evidence of the use of hallowed or exorcized oil, bread, and water in the second century. They would no doubt be used in ministrations to the sick; though the 170th and the 171st of the Canons of Hippolytus show that exorcized bread was also used for other purposes (cf. *Canones Hippol.* edit. Achelis, p. 106). It is, however, by no means certain that S. Clement is intending to set forth the usage of the Church in the above-quoted excerpt. Many of these excerpts are quotations from books written by Valentinian Gnostics. But along with these quotations from heretics are undoubtedly mingled counter-observations and independent discussions by S. Clement of Alexandria himself. The Excerpts 69-81 seem to me to be connected together and to be evidently extracted from a Gnostic book. But, as far as I can see, the Excerpts 82-86 contain nothing

*Evidence of the fourth century.*

Passing now to the fourth century, I will give first a few instances of bishops and priests administering holy oil to the sick, and so restoring them to health. Afterwards, I will give instances of sick persons being healed by oil which had been blessed by lay persons of eminent sanctity, who were endowed with the χάρισμα of healing. In a subsequent chapter I shall have occasion to dwell on the fact that that χάρισμα is not only given to certain individuals of exceptional faith and holiness, but that it is also imparted to the Church in her corporate capacity[1]. It is because of this corporate endowment that the oil for the sick can be consecrated by any bishop or priest, whereas the power of blessing the oil does not, apparently, belong to laymen as such, but only to those laymen who have received from God the gift of healing. When once the oil had

which might not have been written by S. Clement himself, as expressing his own opinion. However, until fuller light has been thrown on these excerpts, the question of the *provenance* of Excerpt 82 must be regarded as one still under discussion.

[1] See pp. 291–4, below.

been duly hallowed, the Church in the early ages allowed it to be administered by any Christian, whether he had been ordained or not. But we may be morally sure that a successful issue has been and will be more frequently granted when either the consecrator, or the administrator, or both, have made much progress in holiness, and are strong in faith and fervent in prayer. The gift of healing requires a certain spiritual atmosphere for its successful exercise[1]. Even our Lord, when He was in His own country, "did not many δυνάμεις there, because of their unbelief[2]"; and the disciples were unable to cure the lunatic child because of their lack of faith[3].

Having made these preliminary observations, I proceed to quote some accounts of sick persons being healed by means of Unction in the fourth century. I reserve for the present what I have to say about my own attitude of mind in regard to accounts of this kind.

1. S. Parthenius was Bishop of Lampsacus on the Hellespont from about 335 to about 355. His Life was written in Greek by his

[1] Compare p. 291, below.
[2] S. Matt. xiii. 58.
[3] S. Matt. xvii. 16, 19, 20.

contemporary Crispinus[1], who seems to have belonged to his *entourage*. A Latin version of this Life, by Gentianus Hervetus, has been published by Bollandus in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Crispinus tells us that one day S. Parthenius went into one of the churches in Heraclea, the old metropolis of Thrace, and found lying there "a certain man who was altogether withered" ("hominem quemdam . . . omnino aridum"). The saint, moved with compassion, asked for some oil; and then falling on his knees, he prayed for the man, with tears, to God, who is good and clement.

"Then getting up, he gently and gradually softened the man's body with the holy oil ('sensim et paullatim eum sancto oleo molliens'), and straightway made him to rise up healed, and bade him go on foot to his friends, glorifying God[2]."

This account leaves us uncertain whether S. Parthenius used some of the *Oleum Infirmorum*, which may have been kept in the sacristy of the church, or in the private residences of Christians living in the

[1] On the trustworthiness of Crispinus's biography of S. Parthenius, see Tillemont (vi. 388).

[2] *Vit. S. Parthen.* cap. iii. § 22, *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Febr., p. 42.

neighbourhood, or whether he hallowed the oil for the occasion, in accordance with the more usual Greek custom of later times. Anyhow, it was by prayer and the use of "*holy* oil" that he restored the man to health.

2. S. Athanasius died in May, 373; and, some few months afterwards, the Arian bishop, Lucius, with the help of the Imperial government, intruded into the see of Alexandria, and held it until 378. While he was in power, he cruelly persecuted the Catholics of Egypt. It happened that Rufinus was in Egypt "for a considerable time about 375[1]"; and, during his sojourn there, he consorted with the leading Fathers of the desert, and shared with them in the afflictions which Lucius brought upon them. In the fourth chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical History he narrates a supernatural cure wrought apparently by five of these monastic leaders, who were gathered together under the expectation that the emissaries of Lucius would speedily arrive to put them to death. These five were S. Macarius of Alexandria, S. Macarius of Egypt, S. Isidore, S. Heraclides, and S. Pambo. Rufinus speaks of them as

[1] See Dom Butler's *Prolegomena to the Lausiac History of Palladius*, § 3 (*Texts and Studies*, vol. vi. p. 11, note).

having been disciples of S. Anthony. He says:

"There was brought to them a man withered (*aridus*) in all his limbs, and specially in his feet. But when he had been anointed all over by them with oil in the Name of the Lord, immediately the soles of his feet were strengthened. And when they said to him, 'In the Name of JESUS Christ, whom Lucius is persecuting, arise, and stand on thy feet, and return to thy house,' immediately, arising and leaping, he blessed God, showing that God was in them of a truth[1]."

Rufinus was present on this occasion, for he says: "Quae praesens vidi loquor." It is not certain that S. Pambo was a priest. Tillemont holds that he was, while the Bollandist Sollerius takes the other view. But the two Macarii and Isidore and Heraclides were certainly priests.

3. Palladius, the friend of S. Chrysostom, was living in the desert of Nitria and in the neighbouring desert of the Cells for more than nine years, viz. from the latter part of the year 390 to the beginning of the year 400. During the earlier part of that period, he saw a good deal of S. Macarius of Alexandria.

[1] Rufin. *H. E.* ii. 4, *P. L.* xxi. 511, 512.

That saint, however, died in January, 395. Palladius, in his account of the Fathers of the Desert, commonly called "the Lausiac History," gives the following account of a supernatural cure wrought by S. Macarius. Palladius says:

"But at the time when we were there," viz. with S. Macarius, "there was brought to him from Thessalonica a noble and wealthy virgin, who during many years had been suffering from paralysis. And when she had been presented to him, and had been thrown down before the cell of the blessed man, he, being moved with compassion for her, with his own hands anointed her during twenty days with holy oil, pouring out prayers for her to the Lord, and so sent her back cured to her own city [1]."

4. Palladius also mentions (*Heraclid. Parad.*

[1] *P. L.* lxxiv. 272. We are still awaiting the critically edited Greek text of the Lausiac History, which Dom Butler has promised us. Migne gives in the *Patrologia Latina* Latin versions of three different recensions of the text. I have taken the account of the healing of the Thessalonian virgin from the recension commonly entitled the *Heraclidis Paradisus*, as being the most trustworthy of the three. I have, however, corrected the reading of the first clause of my quotation, because I learn from Dom Butler, to whom my best thanks are due, that according to all the best MSS. Palladius claims to have been present at the cure of the virgin.

cap. ii) in the same work a holy monk of the Nitrian desert, who seems to have been a priest[1], named Benjamin. He lived in strictest abstinence and in the exercise of other virtues until he was eighty years old; and he received from the Lord the gift of healing; "so that every one, on whom he laid his hands, or to whom he gave oil after he had blessed it, was delivered from every ailment." I translate here from the Greek text of Palladius, which has been kindly supplied to me by Dom Butler. Benjamin died in 391 or 392. Palladius visited him before his death.

5. Sulpicius Severus, the disciple of S. Martin, Bishop of Tours, in his Life of that great Saint, gives an account of a paralytic girl at Trier who was supernaturally cured by him. The girl's father found S. Martin in church, and earnestly entreated him to visit his daughter. The blessed man at last agreed to go. As soon as he got into the house, he cast himself down on the ground and prayed. Then

"He requests that oil should be given him. When he had blessed it, he poured a quantity of the holy liquid ('vim sancti liquoris') into the mouth of the girl, and immediately

[1] See Tillemont, xi. 507, ed. 1732.

her voice returned to her. Then gradually, through contact with him, her limbs began one by one to recover life; till at last, in the presence of the people, her feet having been strengthened, she arose[1]."

Probably this cure was wrought on the occasion of S. Martin's visit to Trier in 383.

In Sulpicius's third dialogue, the narrator Gallus, tells how S. Martin cured a girl in Chartres, who was twelve years old, and had been dumb from her birth. The girl's father brought her to Martin, and begged him to loose her tongue. The saint,

"Giving the preference to the bishops Valentinus and Victricius, who then happened to be by his side, and implying that he regarded them as holier than himself, declared that he was unequal to so great an undertaking, but that nothing was impossible to them."

But they, adding their pious entreaties to those of the father, begged Martin to accomplish what was hoped for. He made no further delay, but prostrates himself in prayer after his usual fashion.

"He then blesses a little oil with a formula of exorcism ('dein pusillum olei cum exorcismi

[1] Sulpic. Sever. *de vita B. Martini*, cap. xvi, *P. L.* xx. 169.

praefatione benedicit'): and, holding the tongue of the girl with his fingers, he poured the consecrated liquid ('sanctificatum liquorem') into her mouth. Nor did the result of the power thus exerted disappoint the holy man. He asks her the name of her father, and she instantly replied. The father cries out, with a mixture of joy and tears, and embraces the knees of Martin; and while all around are amazed, he confessed that then for the first time he had heard the voice of his daughter."

The narrator, Gallus, proceeds to confirm the truth of his story by appealing to one of those who were listening to him. Gallus says:

"That this may not appear incredible to any one, let Evagrius, who is here, furnish you with a testimony of its truth; for the thing took place in his very presence [1]."

Mgr. Duchesne, speaking of the meeting of S. Martin with the Bishops Valentinus and Victricius at Chartres, recorded in the above-quoted passage of the Dialogues, says: "Le fait a dû se passer aux environs de l'année 395 [2]."

In the next chapter of the dialogue Gallus tells another story about some oil which had

[1] Sulpic. Sever. *Dial.* iii. cap. 2, *P. L.* xx. 213.

[2] *Fastes Épiscopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule*, tome ii. p. 420.

been blessed by S. Martin. I will quote the first few lines of his narrative, because they illustrate what we are told by Pope Innocent and by the Venerable Bede and others about lay-people being allowed to keep a store of the holy oil in their own homes for use in cases of illness[1]. Gallus says:

"The wife of the Count Avitian had sent some oil to Martin, that he might bless it (such is the custom) so as to be ready when needful to meet different causes of disease[2]."

Gallus goes on to say that, after S. Martin had hallowed the oil, he sent it back by the hands of a boy to the lady who had originally supplied it. Further on in the chapter, Gallus mentions a glass vessel full of oil hallowed by S. Martin, which belonged to Sulpicius Severus himself. S. Martin died in 397; and the Dialogues were written eight years afterwards, in 405. Sulpicius's Life of S. Martin was written in 396 or 397, before the death of the Saint.

So far, I have referred to cures wrought by means of prayer and the use of holy oil, the consecrators and administrators being bishops or priests. I now proceed to show that in the fourth century lay persons of

[1] Compare pp. 48, 54, above.

[2] *Dial.* iii. cap. 3, *P. L.* xx. 213.

eminent sanctity, who had received the gift of healing, blessed and administered oil in much the same way as the bishops and priests blessed and administered it.

6. S. Pachomius, the first institutor of the cenobitic or community life, was born in the year 292, and died on the 9th of May, 346[1]. A monk of the order or congregation which he founded, who had known some of the Saint's contemporaries, wrote a Life of him about the year 380 or shortly after. Tillemont (vii. 169) praises his accuracy. We read in this Life how that a certain man came to S. Pachomius's monastery, and begged the Saint to heal his daughter who was possessed by a demon.

Some time afterwards "Pachomius sent to the father some oil consecrated by his benediction ('oleum benedictione sua consecratum'). The man, nothing doubting, anointed his daughter all over with that same oil, and merited to see her restored in a little while to the health which she had formerly enjoyed[2]". S. Pachomius was a layman.

[1] See the Abbé Paulin Ladeuze, *Étude sur le Cénobitisme Pakhomien*, Louvain et Paris, 1898, pp. 240, 241.

[2] *Vit. S. Pachom.* § 30, *Acta SS.*, tom. iii. Mai., p. 308. I gather from the table in Dom Butler's *Prolegomena* to the Lausiac History of Palladius (p. 289) that the incident

7. I have now to speak of another holy monk, who seems to have remained a layman all his life[1], S. Hilarion. He was born in 291, and he died in 371. His biography was written by S. Jerome about the year 390. During the latter part of 359 and the earlier months of 360, S. Hilarion was sojourning in a wilderness not very far from Aphroditon, the modern Atfieh, a place on the eastern bank of the Nile, about forty miles south of Cairo. During three years this wilderness had been suffering from drought, owing to the lack of rain. The inhabitants came to Hilarion and earnestly entreated him to give them rain. Moved with compassion, Hilarion raised his eyes to heaven, and, lifting up both his hands, he at once obtained the boon which they had asked.

"But, lo! that parched and sandy district, after the rain had fallen, unexpectedly produced such vast numbers of serpents and poisonous animals that many, who were bitten, would have died at once, if they had not run to Hilarion. He therefore blessed some oil,

of the healing of the demoniac girl by means of consecrated oil is to be found in all the various redactions of the *Vita*, whether they be written in Greek, Latin, Bohairic, Sahidic, or Arabic.

[1] Cf. *Acta SS.*, tom. ix. Octobr., p. 34.

with which all the husbandmen and shepherds touched their wounds, and found an infallible cure [1]."

S. Hilarion passed the last six years of his life in Cyprus; and it must have been while he was there that he saved a man and his wife from death by anointing them. S. Jerome thus narrates the incident. After mentioning that, when Hilarion was lying sick in the eightieth year of his life, "many devout men came to him from Paphos," S. Jerome adds: "There came also Constantia, a holy woman whose son-in-law and daughter he had saved from death by anointing them with oil [2]."

At an earlier period of his life S. Hilarion had lived for many years in a desert on the sea-coast, rather more than seven miles to the south-west of Gaza in Palestine. Here, in his sixty-third year, that is to say in 354, he was at the head of a *grande monasterium*, and he had a multitude of brethren living with him. The Saint was much dejected, because, as he said, "I have returned again to the world, and have received my reward in my lifetime." His biographer describes the honour

[1] S. Hieron. *Vit. S. Hilarion. Eremit.* cap. 32, *P. L.* xxiii. 46.

[2] S. Hieron. *op. cit.* cap. 44, *P. L.* xxiii. 52.

in which he was held, and the unworldliness which enabled him to despise it. S. Jerome says:

"Some may wonder at the miracles he worked, or his incredible fasting, knowledge and humility. Nothing so astonishes me as his power to tread under foot honour and glory. There used to congregate about him bishops, presbyters, crowds of clerics and monks, of Christian matrons also ('grandis tentatio'), and a rabble of unknown persons from all quarters in town and country, and even judges and others holding high positions. These all came to him with the object of receiving at his hands the bread or oil which he had blessed. But he thought of nothing but solitude, so much so that one day he determined to be gone, and, having procured an ass, he endeavoured to steal away[1]."

In this passage we have another instance of the custom of entrusting holy oil to Christians of every degree, clerical or lay, rich or poor, for private use in their own homes. It is also to be noted how holy bread and holy oil are coupled together, and put, so to speak, on a level. This illustrates the rubrical heading of the second prayer for the Oil of the Sick in the Sacramentary of Serapion (see p. 316, below);

[1] S. Hieron. *op. cit.* cap. 30, *P. L.* xxiii. 43, 44.

and the comparison of that rubrical heading with the above-quoted passage from S. Jerome shows clearly, I think, that oil blessed by the clergy for the sick [1], and oil blessed by wonder-working laymen, like S. Hilarion, were considered as things belonging to the same category. In either case bread or water [2] could be substituted for oil, if it was thought well to make the substitution.

8. The life of the great prophet and recluse S. John of Lycopolis in the Thebaid will supply us with further evidence concerning the matter on which we are engaged. This holy man was visited in September or October, 394, by a party of seven persons who had come from Jerusalem to the Thebaid, in the hope of being edified by intercourse with some of the illustrious hermits who lived in

[1] In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 29) it is required that the consecrator of the oil or water be a bishop, or in his absence a priest; and, as Mr. Brightman truly remarks (*Journal of Theological Studies*, i. 261), "it may be assumed that in Serapion a bishop or a presbyter is implied."

[2] It is true that the hallowing of water is not attributed to S. Hilarion in the passage which we are considering, but it is attributed to S. Theodore, Abbot of Tabenna, in a passage quoted above, on p. 93. Now S. Theodore was a layman (cf. *Acta SS.*, tom. iii. Mai, p. 292). See also Mr. Brightman's observations in the *J. T. S.* *u. s.*).

that part of Egypt. Dom Butler has shown, as it seems to me, that the original author of the *Historia Monachorum* was a member of this party of pilgrims. The *Historia Monachorum* has often been attributed to Rufinus; but Dom Butler has made it clear that Rufinus was not the author, but the translator of the work in question, which was originally written in Greek. At the time when the real author of that book joined in the pilgrimage to the Thebaid, he appears to have been a monk, and perhaps also a deacon, in Rufinus's monastery at Jerusalem; and he has, with some considerable show of probability, been identified with a certain Timothy who, eighteen years after the date of the pilgrimage, was Archdeacon of Alexandria, when Theophilus, Archbishop of that great city, died, in 412[1]. One cannot say that this identification is rigorously proved, but in my opinion it is a very probable conjecture, and for the sake of brevity I shall call the author of the *Historia Monachorum* by the name of "Timothy." That book seems to have been written *circa* 396 or 397. Rufinus's Latin translation may be assigned to the year 402 or 403.

[1] See Dom Butler's *Prolegomena* to the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, pp. 276, 277.

Timothy tells us that, when he and his six companions were having their first interview with the Blessed John, one of the party was very grievously afflicted with a tertian fever ("tertiano typho"), and he begged the man of God to cure him. The Saint, after telling the sick man that he was desirous of getting rid of a chastisement which might be very useful to his soul,

"Blessed some oil, and gave it to him. When the invalid had been thoroughly anointed with the oil, he forthwith vomited out all the excess of bile; and having been perfectly restored to health, he returned on foot to the place where he was lodging[1]."

This cure was wrought in the ninetieth year of the life of the holy hermit, who died very shortly after the visit of the seven pilgrims.

Timothy mentions other instances of wonderful deeds and prophetic utterances, which he cites as tokens of S. John's sanctity. Among these incidents there is one which bears on the subject which we are investigating. It happened once that the wife of a certain senator was afflicted with blindness. She begged her husband to take her to the man of God. The husband replied that it

[1] *Hist. Monach.* cap. i. *ap. Rufin. Opp., P. L.* xxi. 394.

was not the Saint's habit to grant interviews to women. She besought him to go and indicate to the holy man the nature of her affliction, and to beseech him to offer up prayer for her. The husband assented to his wife's request; and

"When he had fulfilled his commission, the Blessed John prayed, and hallowed some oil, and sent it to the lady. During three days she moistened her eyes with the oil, and recovered her sight, and thereupon gave thanks to God[1]."

I have found no reference to any ordination of S. John of Lycopolis; and I therefore assume that, like the majority of the Fathers of the desert, he remained a layman all his life.

9. Theodoret, in his *Historia Religiosa* (cap. viii)[2], tells how a holy anchorite at Antioch, S. Aphraates by name, used oil which he had filled with blessing by the invocation of God, and by its means cured the horse of the Emperor Valens, which was sick[3]. He also tells how the same Saint gave some oil similarly hallowed to a woman, and told her to anoint her husband with it. She did so, and

[1] *Hist. Monach.* (*u. s.*). [2] *P. G.* lxxxii. 1376.

[3] Valens made Antioch his headquarters from the latter part of 373 to the early spring of 378.

thereupon her husband was delivered from an unlawful fascination for another person, in which he had been entangled by some magical spell or jugglery. I do not give the full details of these two incidents, because they are not cases of the supernatural cure of human sickness, such as are contemplated by S. James in his Epistle. But they are instances of the use of holy oil, and of its consecration by a layman of eminent sanctity. And one may feel morally certain that S. Aphraates was accustomed to use holy oil for the cure of sick persons who might be brought to him.

I have now given instances of holy oil being used in the fourth century for the supernatural cure of sickness in various parts of the Roman Empire. We have found it in use in Asia Minor, and in Egypt, and in Gaul, and in Palestine, and we have found reason to suppose that it was used also in Syria. In other words it was used both in the East and in the West. If it were worth while to prolong the search, I have no doubt that other cases of a similar use of hallowed oil in that same century could be discovered. I know of no instance of holy oil being used in the fourth century for the remission of sins,

or to prepare dying persons for death, or for the removal of the *reliquiae* of sin. As we should expect, Catholics in those days followed the teaching of the blessed Apostle S. James, and used the consecrated oil as a supernatural cure in cases of sickness.

*Evidence of the fifth century.*

10. That "wonder of the world," as Theodoret calls him, S. Symeon Stylites, was born in 391, and died on new year's day, 460. Theodoret, who knew him well, has given an amazing account of him in the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Historia Religiosa*. He tells us in that work, which was written twenty years before Symeon's death, that the fame of the Saint reached even to the heathen king of Persia, who, as it appears, ought to be identified with Vararanes[1] or Bahrâm the fifth[2], a persecutor of the Church. On a certain occasion, when ambassadors of the Empire were come to the Persian court, the king made diligent inquiries about the life which Symeon led, and about his miracles.

"They say also that the wife of the king begged to be given some oil blessed by the

[1] Cf. Tillemont, xv. 368.

[2] Bahrâm V reigned from 420 to 438.

Saint, and received it as a most precious gift. And although the Persian *magi* used to utter many calumnies against the blessed man, all the great persons belonging to the court, moved by the reports which they heard, made accurate investigation: and when they had made themselves acquainted with the real facts, they used to call Symeon 'a divine man' (*θεῖον ἄνδρα*). But the common people addressed themselves to the mule-drivers and servants and soldiers [who belonged to the train of the ambassadors], and offered them money, and made earnest petitions to obtain some of the oil which the Saint had blessed[1]."

S. Symeon was a layman.

11. Sainte Geneviève of Paris was born about the year 412, and died about the year 502. I have quoted above, in a note on pp. 59, 60, a few sentences from an ancient Life of her, written eighteen years after her death[2]. It appears from that passage that this holy

[1] Theodoret. *Hist. Rel.* cap. 26, *P. G.* lxxxii. 1480.

[2] Cf. *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Jan., pp. 137, 143. Mgr. Duchesne has argued with his usual convincing force in favour of the genuineness of this *Vita*, first in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, tome liv. pp. 209–224, and again in the *Bulletin Critique* for September 5, 1897 (année xviii. pp. 473–476). He is replying to Dr. Bruno Krusch, who holds that the *Vita* is a forgery of the Carolingian age. See also M. Ch. Kohler's reply to the same writer in the *Revue Historique*, tome lxvii. pp. 282–320.

woman frequently restored the sick to health by anointing them with holy oil. And it also appears that she ordinarily used for this purpose the *Oleum Infirmorum* which had been consecrated by a bishop. We have learnt from Pope Innocent I[1], and others, that in the early ages of the Church lay-people were allowed to keep a store of the *Oleum Infirmorum* at their own homes, so that in cases of illness they might anoint themselves and their friends.

12. S. Eugendus or Oyend[2] was fourth Abbot

[1] See pp. 54, 162, above.

[2] Dr. Bruno Krusch, in a paper entitled, *La falsification des vies de saints Burgondes*, which appeared in the *Mélanges Havet* (pp. 42–44), has tried to show that this Life of S. Eugendus is a forgery of the ninth century. But a crushing reply to his arguments has been made by Mgr. Duchesne in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (année xviii. pp. 3–16). Duchesne says in his summing up (p. 16): "Le biographe est plus ancien que Grégoire [de Tours]. Rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'il ait vécu, comme il le dit, au commencement du vi^e^ siècle. Il écrivait à Condat; il connut saint Eugende; il nous rapporte, sans doute avec une grande fidélité, ce que l'on racontait de son temps, dans les monastères jurassiens, sur les saints de la génération précédente, les saints fondateurs, Romain et Lupicin. Nous sommes autorisés à retenir ses récits comme ayant une sérieuse valeur traditionnelle." The reader may also be referred to another article, entitled, *Étude sur les vies des saints fondateurs de Condate*, written by M. René Poupardin, and published in the

of the illustrious monastery of Condat in the kingdom of Burgundy, about seventeen miles north-west of Geneva. He was born about 455, and died in 516 or 517. He remained a layman all his life. His biography seems to have been written by one of his monks, and has been printed by Bollandus in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*. On account of the gift of healing which he had received from God, crowds of sick people used to come to the monastery to be healed. But in order to spare many, who would have come, the fatigue of the journey, the Saint ultimately adopted the plan of sending holy oil and other remedies to the sick in distant provinces, and they derived as much benefit as those did who had personal interviews with him at Condat[1].

During the last six months of his life, he suffered from bodily indisposition ("inaequalitate corporea"); but it was not of such a kind as to prevent his being present daily in church at all the canonical hours; and he was able to keep up his habit of taking food

Review—*Le Moyen Age* (tome ii). M. Poupardin writes in the same sense as Mgr. Duchesne, but independently of him.

[1] Cf. *Vit. S. Eugend.* cap. viii, *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Jan., p. 52.

only once a day. On the sixth day before his death, it is evident that he felt that his condition was becoming more serious, for he sent for

"One of the brothers (of the monastery), to whom he had in past times committed the duty of anointing the sick; and confidentially ('secretissime') asked that his own breast ('pectusculum') should be anointed in the usual way ('ut moris est'). When, on the next morning, he was questioned by us as to his night's rest, bursting into tears and sobs, he said: 'May God Almighty forgive you, since you do not suffer me to be loosed from the fetters of the body, although I am seized by so serious an illness (me tanta inaequalitate constrictum).'"

The Saint then went on to narrate a vision which he had had during the previous night. The two saintly founders of his abbey, S. Romanus and S. Lupicinus, had appeared to him, carrying a bier and placing it by his bed. They had then laid out his body, and kissed it, and placed it on the bier, and were bearing it into the abbey church (*oratorium*), when the brethren of the monastery ran up, and violently knocked him off the bier, and brought him back to the dormitory, and laid him on his bed. All this the Saint had seen in vision. Five days afterwards, "he laid him-

self down on his bed, and suddenly, as if he were falling asleep, he breathed out his spirit[1]." It seems, therefore, that feeling that his sickness was becoming serious, he had had himself anointed in the customary way with a view to recovery; but that on the following night it was revealed to him that he was to die; and, in fact, he thought that he was already dead, and was bitterly disappointed when he woke up and found himself to be still in the body.

I have given full details concerning the anointing of S. Eugendus, because his case has sometimes been cited as an early anticipation of the mediaeval rite of Extreme Unction. But when the whole account is duly weighed, it will be seen that his case is quite a normal one, and that the Unction which he received was Jacobean and not mediaeval.

I may add that there is no reason to suppose that the brother who anointed him was a priest. The author of the *Vita*, when he has occasion to speak of the priests in the abbey, calls them "presbyteri," while the other monks he calls "fratres[2]." The brother who

[1] *Vit. S. Eugend.* cap. xv, *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Jan., p. 54.

[2] Cf. cap. viii. In that chapter we are told that not only the most blessed abbot but also the presbyters and

anointed S. Eugendus may have been a priest, but the biographer does not think it necessary to say so, as he almost certainly would have done if the Unction had been of such a sort that only priests could administer it. It must be remembered that in those days the monks in general were laymen, and that in this case the abbot also was a layman. A priest was then an exceptional person in a monastery. This makes it the less likely that a priest, performing a sacerdotal function, would be simply spoken of as "unus de fratribus."

So far, I have given instances of Unction administered by lay people in the fifth century[1]. The next two cases shall be instances of Unction administered by priests.

13. S. German was Bishop of Auxerre from 418 to 448. His Life was written by Constantius, a priest of the Church of Lyons and an intimate friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, at the request of S. Patiens, the Bishop of Lyons.

many of the brothers there possessed the gift of healing, and the man of God used to delegate the office of healing to them, in lieu of exercising the gift himself.

[1] Perhaps the case of S. Eugendus should have been assigned to the sixth century; for, though the greater part of his life belonged to the fifth century, his term of office, as abbot, belonged for the most part to the following century.

Constantius published this Life about the year 475[1], at the request of S. Censurius, Bishop of Auxerre. We learn from the Life that at some time or other during S. German's episcopate a terrible sickness broke out in the place where he was staying. It attacked first the children and afterwards the grown-up people: and, as a rule, those attacked were dead within three days. A special characteristic of the sickness was an internal swelling of the jaws. The people, unable to get any help from the physicians, had recourse to their bishop. "He proceeded at once to bless some oil"; and with it he touched the swollen jaws of those who were sick. Thereupon the swelling went down as quickly as it had arisen, leaving an open passage, through which air and food could be ministered to those who had been stricken with the disease[2].

14. S. Auxentius in his earlier life had occupied a distinguished position in the body-guard of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger. He was a man of great attainments in both pagan and ecclesiastical literature, and was admitted to intimate relations with the

[1] For the date, see Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux*, ii. 441.

[2] *Vit. S. German. Autissiod.* cap. ii. § 15. *Acta SS.*, tom. vii. Jul., p. 205.

Emperor and his courtiers[1]. Even while he was living at court, he led a most earnest Christian life. But the time came when he felt inwardly called to leave Constantinople, and to live the life of a solitary on a mountain in Bithynia, about ten miles from Chalcedon. Tillemont, while admitting the difficulty of determining the exact date of Auxentius's retirement, gives the year 446 as the most probable date[2]. For myself, I should be inclined to prefer the year 430[3]. The holy man seems to have persevered in his extremely ascetic mode of life until his death, which took place about the year 470. A Life of the Saint has come down to us, written by one who had known one of Auxentius's disciples. This disciple inhabited Auxentius's cave after his death, and followed his mode of life, and seems to have borne the name of Sergius[4]. Auxentius was abundantly enriched with the gift of healing. Many of the cures which he wrought are narrated in his Life. It will be sufficient here to call atten-

[1] Cf. Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 21.

[2] Cf. Tillemont, xvi. 59.

[3] Cf. Tillemont, xvi. 740. Tillemont seems to me to have misunderstood Sozomen.

[4] Cf. *Vit. S. Auxent.* cap. ix. § 57, *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Febr., p. 780.

tion to two passages, in which they are spoken of. Two men came to him one day who were suffering from elephantiasis. They hoped to receive healing from God by his means. The Saint first warned them against the sin of swearing, to which they had been addicted. He then exhorted all who were present to pray. He himself remained on his knees for some hours, and shed copious tears. Then, arising, "he took the oil of the Saints (*oleum Sanctorum*), and anointed them from the crown of the head to the feet, saying, 'Jesus Christ heals you, for I am a sinful man.' Immediately they were healed, and returned home with joy, praising God[1]." Tillemont (xvi. 61) says that the "oil of the Saints" here mentioned was probably the oil of lamps which burnt before the tombs of Saints. The author of the *Vita* mentions in another passage (§ 60, p. 780) that S. Auxentius healed many demoniacs, "oleo sanctarum reliquiarum irrigans." Mr. Scudamore has collected much information about the use of the "Oil of the Saints" in his article on *Holy Oil*[2]. S. Auxen-

[1] *Vit. S. Auxent.* cap. iii. § 18, *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Febr., p. 773.

[2] Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii. 1454, 1455. Perhaps, as the oil used by S. Auxentius was the *Oleum Sanctorum*, the cures wrought

tius's biographer speaks of him as a priest. He must have been ordained after his retirement from the imperial court.

*Evidence of the sixth century.*

Having given detailed accounts of sick persons being healed by prayer and anointing with holy oil during the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, it will, I think, be sufficient if I give much more summary accounts of cases of healing in later centuries. I pass now to the sixth century, giving precedence to cases of healing in which the healer was either a bishop or a priest.

15. S. Caesarius was Bishop of Arles from 502 to 542. We have an excellent Life of him in two books, written by five of his disciples. The first book, to which alone I shall refer, was the work of S. Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon, S. Firminius, Bishop of Uzès, and S. Viventius, who was also a bishop. In § 43 of that book the story is told of how Caesarius healed a woman at Arles, who suddenly fell down in a fit, by laying his hand on her head and anointing her with holy oil. And similarly in § 49 we read of a slave of the patrician

by him should have been omitted from this collection of cases. See below, p. 191.

Parthenius, who was vexed by a demon, but when he had been "anointed with oil hallowed by the benediction of the most blessed man," he was completely cured [1].

16. S. German was Bishop of Paris from about 555 to 576. His biography was written by his celebrated contemporary and friend, Venantius Fortunatus, the author of the hymn *Vexilla Regis*. The Saint healed two paralytics with holy oil, and cured other sick persons by giving them blessed bread [2].

17. S. Laumer was a priest, and also the founder and first abbot of the monastery of Corbion, near Chartres. He was born about 548, and died in extreme old age about the year 651. He healed a madman, who was so violent that he had to be kept in chains, by praying over him, and anointing him with oil, and laying his hand upon him. He also healed a nobleman, who was wholly paralysed, by signing him with the cross and by anointing him with holy oil. He healed also in exactly the same way a noble lady, named Vulfrada, who had been paralysed

[1] *Vit. S. Caesar. Arelat.* part. i. capp. 43 and 49, *M. G. H., Script. Rer. Meroving.* tom. iii. pp. 473, 474, 476.

[2] *Vit. S. German.* cap. iii. §§ 24, 26, 27, *Acta SS.*, tom. vi. Mai., p. 783.

from her youth [1]. Bollandus regards his biography as ancient and almost contemporary.

18. I will now give one instance of holy oil being consecrated in the sixth century by a lay person, and administered to the sick for their healing by lay people. S. Monegundis was a singularly ascetic recluse, who lived her life of retirement first at Chartres and afterwards at Tours, where she died in the year 570. Three years after her death, the historian, S. Gregory of Tours, succeeded to the throne of S. Martin; and he has left two accounts of this wonder-working Saint, namely a short account in the twenty-fourth chapter of his *De Gloria Confessorum* [2], and a much longer and more detailed account in the nineteenth chapter of his *Vitae Patrum* [3]. In the latter part of her life a community of nuns gathered around her, over which she ruled as Superior. When the time of her departure drew near, these religious entreated her to bless some oil and some salt, so that after her death they might have something to give to sick persons, who would be sure to

[1] *Vit S. Launomar.* cap. iii. §§ 13, 15, et cap. iv. § 21, *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Jan., pp. 232, 233, 234.

[2] *P. L.* lxxi. 848.

[3] *P. L.* lxxi. 1087–1092.

come in numbers to the house, asking to be given something which had been blessed by the Saint. Then Monegundis blessed oil and salt, and gave what she had blessed to her nuns, who kept the precious treasure with the greatest care. S. Gregory tells us that many sick persons were cured after the Saint's death by using these hallowed things. He mentions specially a deacon, Boso by name, whose foot was healed by the holy oil which the nuns put on it [1].

*Evidence of the seventh century.*

19. S. Eustace was a disciple of the great S. Columbanus, the Irish founder of the three famous abbeys of Luxeuil, Saint Gall, and Bobbio. When S. Columbanus was driven out of Burgundy, S. Eustace succeeded him as Abbot of Luxeuil. S. Eustace's Life was written by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, who also was a disciple of S. Columbanus and his biographer. Jonas, in his Life of S. Eustace, tells how that Saint restored sight to S. Salaberga or Sadalberga by pouring on to her blind eyes holy oil ("super oculos benedictionis oleum effudit") [2]. A similar account is given

[1] Cf. *P. L.* lxxi. 1091.

[2] Ionae Abbat. Elnonens. *Vit. S. Eustas.* cap. 4, *P. L.*

by Omotarius, Bishop of Laon, in his Life of S. Salaberga[1]. The event must have taken place about the year 614. S. Eustace died in 625. I have no reason to think that S. Eustace was ever ordained to the priesthood. My belief is that he remained a layman all his life.

20. S. Austreberta was Abbess of Pauilly in Normandy in the latter part of the seventh century. She died in the year 703. Bollandus has printed a Life of her, which, he says, is written accurately, and by a contemporary. On one occasion the Saint anointed with holy oil, and so restored to health, a nun who had been grievously wounded by the collapse of part of the house in which at the time she happened to be[2].

21. S. Ricmirus was founder and first abbot of a monastery at a place called Turris Dominica, in the diocese of Le Mans. He was ordained priest by Aiglibertus, Bishop of Le Mans, and his death occurred before the death of the bishop. Aiglibertus became bishop at some time between 660 and 674[3],

lxxxvii. 1048; et *Script. Rer. Meroving.* tom. iv. p. 122 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*).

[1] *Acta SS.*, tom. vi. Septembr., p. 522.

[2] *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Febr., p. 423.

[3] Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux*, ii. 335.

and he was dead before March 3, 699. The Life of S. Ricmirus was written by a contemporary. We read in his biography that one of his monks, named Dodo, became blind; but S. Ricmirus, after earnest prayer, touched him with consecrated oil, and so healed him [1].

22. S. Cuthbert, the glorious Bishop of Lindisfarne, was consecrated to the episcopate on March 26, 685, and he died on March 20, 687. His Life was written by the Venerable Bede. It was during S. Cuthbert's *episcopate* that he healed a girl who was a kinswoman of S. Ethelwald, then a servant of S. Cuthbert, but afterwards Abbot of Melrose, and still later, viz. from 724 [2] to 740, one of S. Cuthbert's successors in the see of Lindisfarne. For a whole year the girl had been afflicted with an intolerable pain in the head and in the whole of one side; and the physicians altogether despaired of her case. She was pointed out to the man of God, and he, pitying her, anointed her with hallowed oil. From that hour she began to get better, and

[1] *Vit. S. Ricmir.* cap. ii. § 13, *Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Jan., p. 178.

[2] Bishop Stubbs (*Registr. Sacr. Anglican.* edit. 1897, p. 9) gives the date 724, but Mr. Plummer in his edition of the *Opera Historica* of Bede (tom. ii. p. 297) argues that S. Ethelwald was consecrated to Lindisfarne in 721.

in a few days she was quite well. S. Bede says:

"Many who were present have testified to the truth of this cure, and among them the religious presbyter, Ethelwald, then a 'minister viri Dei,' but now [i.e. at the time when S. Bede was writing S. Cuthbert's Life[1]], abbot of the monastery of Melrose[2]."

I have no doubt that similar cures were wrought by the use of holy oil in the eighth century, though I do not happen to have noted any which belong to that century, and I have not time at present to make further researches[3].

I think that I have shown that from the time of the Apostles onwards, during the first seven centuries of our era, the custom of praying over sick people and anointing them with holy oil continued without any break. And there seem to me to be good reasons for believing that in many cases the petitions

[1] Mr. Plummer (*Op. cit.*, tom. i. p. cxlviii) expresses the opinion that S. Bede wrote his Life of S. Cuthbert "about 720." If Bishop Stubbs's date (see previous note) is correct, one might assign the Life of S. Cuthbert to 723.

[2] Bedae Venerab. *Vit. S. Cuthbert.* cap. xxx, *P. L.* xciv. 770. In a note on p. 91, above, will be found a reference to the cure wrought by S. Cuthbert, which is described in this passage.

[3] But see the note on pp. 201, 202, below.

that were offered were granted, and that the holy oil was used by God as a channel for conveying health to the sick persons. It is of course possible and even probable that in some of these cases the cure was effected by the ordinary recuperative forces of nature, and that in other cases doubts may be raised as to the credibility of the witnesses. I see no reason, myself, for doubting any of the cases which I have summarized in this chapter. I have given only cases in which the evidence seemed to be contemporary or nearly contemporary. And I have never been able to understand the theory which admits supernatural cures in the apostolic age, but denies the truth of all similar cures in later ages. Certainly, the Church was wholly unconscious of any such idea. And if the later evidence is set aside on some *a priori* ground, I do not see how the earlier evidence can stand.

Even if it could be shown that, in many of these cases, the evidence is insufficient to prove the fact of a supernatural cure having been wrought, the narratives can still be appealed to in proof of what was commonly believed and expected and practised among Christians of the first seven centuries. And

it must be borne in mind that this belief and expectation and practice were grounded on the firm rock of an apostolic injunction recorded in a canonical book of the New Testament. Moreover, the evidence of the liturgies shows that the expectation of supernatural cures through prayer and Unction was not limited to special occasions, when the sick person had the good fortune to be brought into contact with some wonder-working Saint of eminent holiness. The Church as a whole claimed to be endowed with the χάρισμα of healing, and she normally exercised the power imparted to her, by means of her duly ordained ministers.

The primitive cases of sick persons being anointed with holy oil may be classified under various heads. In some cases the oil is blessed by an ordinary bishop or priest, either in the public service or in the sick man's chamber. In other cases the oil is blessed by some wonder-working Saint, who may be either a bishop or a priest or a layman or even a lay-woman. And in whatever way the oil is blessed, it may be administered either by a priest or by a layman or by a lay-woman; or the patient, whoever he may be, may anoint himself. But all these different circumstances seem

to make no real difference in the nature of the Unction. Whoever has been the consecrator, and whoever is the administrator, the object of the rite is to effect a supernatural cure of the bodily or mental sickness. The only limitation, that I can see, is that the oil seems never to be consecrated by lay persons, unless they are *thaumaturgi* [1]. The reader is requested to observe that no account has been taken, in the preceding summary, of cases in which the holiness of the oil was regarded as proceeding from its contact with or nearness to some sacred object, such as a relic of the Cross or of some Saint. Cases of that kind come under a different category; and, so far as I am aware, Unction with such oils has never been regarded as a Sacrament in the restricted mediaeval sense of that word.

I can find no trace in the first seven centuries of sick people being anointed for the remission of their sins, or for the removal of the *reliquiae* of sin, or to impart to them grace enabling them to die happily or courageously. And again, in those primitive ages

[1] On this subject see the discussion on a canon of Rabbûla, Bishop of Edessa, in Appendix II, pp. 367-71, below.

I find no evidence of persons in *articulo mortis* being anointed with the object of preparing them for death, either immediately before or immediately after their reception of the Holy Viaticum [1].

But on the other hand, as soon as we come to the ninth century, the custom changes. Unction then becomes a regular accompaniment of the reception of the Eucharistic

[1] It is true that in the Life of S. Tresanus published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Febr., p. 55, §§ 13, 14), we read that when the Saint was "ad extrema deductus," and was conscious that the end of his life in the body was imminent, he summoned the priests, and he received from them the "oleum sanctae reconciliationis," and after that he asked for the Viaticum. This Saint lived in the early part of the sixth century. But his Life was written two or three centuries after his death, and, as Dr. Gammack observes, is "not of much value historically" (Smith and Wace, *D. C. B.* iv. 1043). Similarly, we read in the Life of S. Hunegundis that in the last night of her earthly life she begged the presbyters, who were present in her chamber, to administer to her "unctionis oleum et Communionem Sanctam" (*Acta SS.*, tom. v. August., p. 232). But this Life was written in the tenth century, that is to say, three hundred years after the age of S. Hunegundis; and, as the Bollandists point out, it contains many statements which are doubtful, and some which are incredible. As far as I am aware, nothing of this kind occurs in the Lives of Saints of the first seven centuries, which were written by contemporaries. Of course, dying persons may sometimes have been anointed in the earlier centuries, in the hope that God would be pleased to grant recovery.

*viaticum*[1]. And we find that in the ninth and following centuries Unction is chiefly regarded as a preparation for death. Let me illustrate this by a few examples.

1. Bishop Theodulf of Orleans was one of the theological advisers of the Emperor Charles the Great. The date of his consecration is uncertain: but he was undoubtedly Bishop of Orleans in 798[2], and his episcopate lasted till 818. On two different occasions he addressed to the clergy of his diocese a pastoral instruction or *Capitulare*. In the second of these documents he gives an elaborate account of how sick persons are to be anointed. He directs that the oil shall be applied to fifteen

[1] I suppose that, when the use of the *Oleum Infirmorum* began to be restricted to cases in which the sick person was in danger of death, and when it was primarily regarded as a channel of sanctifying grace, the clergy began to bless what came to be called "*oleum simplex*," as a non-sacramental channel of healing. I have given elsewhere (see pp. 349-3, the form for blessing *oleum simplex*, as it is to be found at the present day in the *Rituale Romanum*. Whether it is often used nowadays, I cannot say. As far as I have observed, it is never mentioned in modern Roman Catholic manuals of theology. But to me the recognition of it in the *Rituale* is interesting, because it seems to carry on the apostolic use of Unction, which for seven or eight centuries was the only use. On this subject see note 1 on p. 390, below.

[2] See Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux*, ii. 459.

parts of the body, which he names; and he mentions the psalms and antiphons which are to be used, and describes other ceremonies pertaining to the rite. The whole thing reads like a manifesto issued with the object of introducing a new observance, of which the clergy of the diocese of Orleans had hitherto been ignorant. And I am inclined to think that that is a true account of the matter [1]. In one sentence Theodulf couples the Unction with Penance and the Viaticum. He says:

"Priests are to be admonished concerning the Unction of the sick and Penance and the Viaticum, lest any one die without the Viaticum."

And further on he says:

"When the sick man has been anointed in the way that has been set forth, let him be enjoined by the priest to say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and to commend his spirit into the hands of God, and to fortify himself with the sign of the cross, and to bid farewell to the living. Then let the priest communicate him," &c.[2]

[1] Some, if not all, of Theodulf's clergy must have known all their lives how the Jacobean Unction was to be administered; but they were now, as it would seem, learning for the first time how to administer the "Extreme Unction" of the later Middle Ages.

[2] Theodulf. Aurelianens. *Capitulare*, *P. L.* cv. 220–222.

Evidently Theodulf's view of the Unction of the sick was that it was primarily a rite to prepare the dying for death.

2. At the Council of Mentz, held in the year 847, the twenty-sixth canon deals with the case of sick persons who are "in danger of death." Among other things, the canon says:

"Let them be encouraged by the prayers and consolations of the Church, together with the sacred Unction of God [*or*, of oil [1]], according to the statutes of the holy fathers, and then be refreshed with the Communion of the Viaticum [2]."

Here too the Unction of the sick is evidently regarded as a preparation for death.

3. The celebrated Hincmar was Archbishop of Rheims from 845 to 882. In a letter addressed to all the faithful, he notifies the excommunication of a certain Fulcherus and a certain Hardoisa, who, being within the prohibited degrees of kinship, had nevertheless entangled themselves in an incestuous union. Towards the end of the letter, he says that, if either of the two should fall

See also Appendix IV. below (pp. 397-405), in which the whole of the section of this *Capitulare*, which deals with the Unction of the sick, is printed.

[1] Probably "olei" should be read in lieu of "Dei."

[2] Coleti, ix. 1045.

ill beyond the expectation of recovery, and should repent, and should confess his or her sins, and should give sureties, promising that, if recovery should be granted, there shall be no renewal of that unlawful union, then in that case the penitent

"may be reconciled by a priest, and be anointed with holy oil, and be made partaker of the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ[1]."

Here again, the Unction is evidently to be given in preparation for death.

4. S. Rembert was the successor of S. Anskar, as Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, from 865 to 888. The Bollandists have published a Life of him, which contains the clearest indications of having been written by a contemporary. Henschenius, the editor, has given good reasons for believing that it was composed between 893 and 898. In the last chapter of this Life, we read that

"on the seventh day before the death [of the Saint], he gave orders that the mystery of the sacred Anointing with holy oil should be accomplished on him; and every day, until his soul departed from his body, he received this salu-

[1] Hincmar. *Epist.* xxxvi, *P. L.* cxxvi. 255, 256.

tary remedy along with the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord[1]."

S. Rembert had, shortly before his last illness, had a vision, in the course of which it was certified to him that he would die that same year. When therefore that last illness came on, he spent all his time preparing himself for his departure out of this world. It is evident, therefore, that his daily reception of the rite of Unction had for its object preparation for death.

5. I will give one more example of this later kind of Unction. S. Godehard was Bishop of Hildesheim from 1022 to 1038. His Life was written by his disciple, Wolfhert; and it is praised by Henschenius as being "optimae notae et fidei." In the fifth chapter of the Life, Wolfhert says that "there was in our congregation a man of venerable life named Tadilo." When this good religious was taken ill with his last sickness, and was nigh unto death, S. Godehard sent his nephew, the Abbot Ratmund, to visit him, and to tell him that

"he would receive the holy Anointing of oil with true repentance and full faith and

[1] *Vit. S. Rembert.* cap. vii. § 29. *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Febr., p. 566.

with the confession of his sins [1], and that then, fortified with the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, he would fearlessly depart out of this world,"

and that he would be followed in the course of the next twelve months by S. Godehard himself. All which things came to pass [2].

Unless I am under a complete illusion, the historical instances set forth in this chapter supply a weighty confirmation of the argument contained in the three preceding chapters.

[1] The confession of sins was, of course, to be made with a view to receiving Absolution, which was in fact given to Tadilo by the Abbot Ratmund.

[2] *Vit. S. Godehard.* cap. v. § 40, *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Mai., p. 514.

## CHAPTER V.

### A Conjecture about the History of the Evolution of the Sacramental Theory of the Unction of the Sick.

A learned friend has expressed the opinion that it would add to the completeness of the demonstration of my thesis, if I were able to explain how it came to pass that the Latin Church changed its discipline and its teaching concerning the Unction of the sick, either in the latter part of the eighth century or, as is perhaps more probable, in the earlier part of the ninth century, and that a similar change was effected in the Eastern Church at some date less easy to define with precision.

I quite admit that it would be both interesting and satisfactory if the cause or causes leading to the change in belief and discipline could be traced out. But I do not admit that I am under any obligation to discover those causes. The change is one thing, and its cause is another. I venture to think that

I have brought forward in the preceding chapters a considerable number of facts which seem to point to the conclusion that a change did actually take place. Those facts throw light on each other, and seem to me to make the supposition that there was such a change far more probable than the supposition that there was no such change. Until those facts have been disproved, or until it has been shown that they do not point to my conclusion, or that for some other reason we can be sure that that conclusion is untrue or improbable, the task, which I undertook, appears to me to be accomplished, even though I should be unable to give any explanation of the causes which produced the change. Church history is full of instances of changes in practice and changes in belief; but historians are by no means always in a position to trace out satisfactorily the causes which brought about those changes.

My friend has suggested that in process of time cases of supernatural recovery from sickness, following on the administration of Unction to the sick, may have become more and more rare, and that as a result the administrators and the recipients may have been inclined to attribute some sanctifying

effect to the rite, so as to provide a *raison d'être* for its retention; and it is obvious that, when once the idea of a sanctifying effect had been admitted, the occurrence of cases of physical recovery tending at the same time to cease, the belief that the rite had been primarily instituted as a channel of sanctifying grace would be likely to prevail more and more.

This theory is certainly ingenious, and, if it could be made manifest that in the eighth century there was in the West a notable diminution of cases in which physical recovery followed on the administration of Unction, one would be inclined to admit that the suggested theory had a considerable show of probability. But I confess that I know of no evidence tending to prove that in that century there was any such gradual cessation of the visible results of Unction[1]. If any

[1] There is a collection containing thirty-six *statuta* or canons attributed to S. Boniface of Mentz. It is to be found in Coleti (viii. 309 312) and in Migne *P. L.* lxxxix. 821–824; and in Coleti it is dated "*circiter* 745." Mansi has argued that these canons must belong to the time of Charles the Great or to that of his successor, Lewis the Pious (cf. *P. L.* lxxxix. 842). But Hefele has replied to Mansi's arguments and maintains that the canons were promulgated by S. Boniface (cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, edit. 1877, vol. iii. p. 584, notes 1 and 2). Anyhow,

one feels that he is in a position to show that such was the case, and will take the trouble to set forth the proof, so that it can be

whether they date from about 745, or whether they are to be assigned to the early part of the ninth century, the twenty-ninth of these *statuta* or canons runs thus :— "Omnes presbyteri oleum infirmorum ab episcopo expetant, secumque habeant, et admoneant fideles infirmos illos exquirere, ut, eodem oleo peruncti, a presbyteris sanentur : *Quia oratio fidei salvabit infirmos.*" It is evident that, when this canon was promulgated, the hope that God would grant recovery to the sick, as a result of prayer and unction, still continued. It should also be noticed that nothing is said about the remission of sins or any sanctifying grace. S. Boniface, or some later legislator, still knew only the Jacobean Unction. And two centuries after the time of S. Boniface, we find in the earliest of the lives of S. Ulrick, who was Bishop of Augsburg from 923 to 973, full proof that physical healing was still expected to follow the administration of the *Oleum infirmorum*, if God so willed. That earliest Life was written by a contemporary of S. Ulrick, who held some office in his cathedral church. There is some reason to think that it was Gerard, the Provost of the Chapter. In the first paragraph of the ninth chapter (*Acta SS.*, tom. ii. Jul., p. 114) the writer says :—"Sanctificatum vero oleum in die Coenae Domini ab eo tam salubre effectum est, ut multi in infirmitate positi, ab eo uncti, celeriter sanitati restituerentur ; et multi caliginem oculorum habentes, et praesentis luminis in hoc saeculo manere [? munere] carentes putavere, a tactu huius olei, serenitati oculorum iterum uti meruerunt. *Haec vero nemine dicente comperiebam, sed propriis oculis in quamplurimis peracta conspiciebam.*"

studied and weighed, I for one shall feel very grateful.

For myself, if in my turn I may be allowed to put forth a hypothesis, I should be at present inclined to look in a different direction. To me it seems clear that the change of view about the principal effect of the Unction was the result of an abandonment of the true interpretation of the Jacobean passage. As we have seen, S. James contemplates two separate cases, and refers to two separate institutions. He contemplates first the case of *all* sick Christians, and then the case of that minority of sick Christians who at any particular time might have fallen into the state of deadly sin. The presbyters are to minister to the former by praying over them and anointing them, and they are to minister to the latter, if they are penitent, by absolving them.

In the early Church it was unusual, perhaps unknown, for ordinary Christians, not under Church censure and not troubled in their conscience by the remembrance of any unforgiven deadly sin, to be advised to apply for admission to Penance. Penance was a discipline which was normally applicable to those only who had weighty matters burden-

ing their soul. It was a remedy which in the early days was only granted once in a lifetime. This rule seems to go back to sub-apostolic times, if not to the very beginning. And from the fourth century onwards Penance, having once been granted, bound the penitent not only to a course of very severe penitential exercises, which were to continue until he was absolved, but also to some tremendous obligations, which continued to bind him until the end of his life, even though he might have been in due time absolved and restored to Communion. The Abbé Boudinhon, speaking of the fourth and following centuries, says very truly:—

"On ne recevait la pénitence qu'une fois, mais on la recevait pour toute la vie. En Occident, du moins, le pénitent ne devait plus ni se marier, ni user du mariage déjà contracté, ni exercer des fonctions publiques; il était pénitent pour toujours [1]."

And this state of things lasted in principle in many parts of the West until the seventh century. In Spain it lasted until the ninth century [2].

[1] *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, tome ii. p. 324. Compare Morinus, *de Poenitentia*, lib. v. capp. xviii and xxi.

[2] Cf. Malnory, *De Luxoviensibus Monachis*, edit. 1894, pp. 79, 80.

But during the sixth and seventh centuries a slow process of change had been going on in the administration of Penance in many Western countries. Little by little, in the case of secret sins, first one part of the penitential process and then another had passed out of the hands of the bishops into that of the priests; and the public *exhomologesis* and the public Absolution gave place to a private dealing with penitents. Moreover under the conditions of this private discipline penitents were admitted to penance almost as often as they liked to come. And finally, the whole institution, without in any way ceasing to be a means of rescue for the fallen, was beginning to be used also by the devout as a help towards the attainment of perfection.

These newer methods, or some of them, were in Gaul and Alamannia and Lombardy propagated with peculiar zeal by the Irish monks who came in with S. Columban, and who established such multitudes of monasteries, daughter-houses of the great central abbeys of Luxeuil, Saint-Gall, and Bobbio. Their work in those lands was chiefly carried on during the seventh century, and it firmly established the changes which had begun before their arrival. Thus we find bishops,

gathered together from the greater part of Gaul, holding a council at Chalon-sur-Saône in 650, and declaring in their eighth canon as follows:—

"De poenitentia vero peccatorum, quae est medela animae, utilem omnibus hominibus esse censemus: et ut poenitentibus a sacerdotibus data confessione indicatur poenitentia, universitas sacerdotum noscitur consentire."

The same methods were established in Germany in the eighth century by the great monastic missionaries, S. Boniface and S. Pirminius, and they received also the sanction of Rome. In the very year, 716, in which S. Boniface bade his final farewell to England[1], and crossed the sea to begin his missionary labours in Germany, Pope Gregory II confirmed and approved the new penitential system in a capitulary containing instructions for three envoys whom he was sending into Bavaria. In the twelfth section of this document the Pope says:—

"Ut poenitentiae remediis nemo se non egere putet, pro quotidianis humanae fragi-

[1] But some weighty authorities give the year 718 as the date of S. Boniface's final departure from England.

litatis excessibus, sine quibus in hac vita esse non possumus[1]."

Thus the sacrament of Penance was now regarded as a discipline and a ministration applicable to the whole Christian people, who were encouraged and almost enjoined to use it as a remedy for the daily sins into which, owing to human frailty, all men are liable to fall[2].

This was a very great change; though I do not say that it was a change of such a nature that it was beyond the power of local churches to make it. In disciplinary matters it is very difficult to assign any limits to the power of local churches, except that they must not act in such a way as to break any divine law.

But this particular change, after it had become well established and had driven out of men's minds the memory of the practice of the primitive Church, had necessarily far-reaching results. And it seems to me to be quite possible that it may have produced

[1] *P. L.* lxxxix. 534.

[2] On the whole subject of these changes in the penitential discipline, see the Abbé Boudinhon's remarks in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, tome ii. pp. 500–503.

among other results a change in the interpretation of the passage in S. James's Epistle, which deals with the Unction of the sick. It will be remembered that in that passage a conditional clause occurs, the full sense of which may be expressed in English thus:—"And if he be in the state of one who has committed sins, the effects of which remain, remission shall be imparted to him" (κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ). In the earlier ages of the Church that clause would, I think, necessarily suggest a case, which among Christians in those ages would be *relatively* rare. It would suggest the case of a man who had been a grievous sinner, and who was yearning to be forgiven and restored to Communion. He might have been already admitted to Penance before his sickness came on, or it might be the fact of his sickness, which was now prompting him to ask to be admitted to Penance; but in either case he would, in view of his malady, be anxious to be absolved speedily, and so be allowed to participate in the Mysteries of the Altar.

I have shown that Origen and S. Chrysostom understood the clause to refer to the discipline of Penance and the ministration

of Absolution[1], and I am not aware of any other interpretation having been given to it by any early Christian writer. No one before the time of Charles the Great suggests, so far as my knowledge goes, that S. James is alluding to anything but the remission which is imparted by the exercise of the power of the keys.

But by the end of the eighth century, owing to the changes which had taken place in the administration of the discipline of Penance[2], the conditional clause in the Jacobean passage would not produce by any means

[1] See above, on pp. 42–7.

[2] Owing to the necessities of the case, the discipline connected with *clinical* Penance had varied much less than the penitential discipline which was applied to persons who were not sick. I grant that, even in the case of clinical Penance, some changes had in the course of ages taken place. For example the number of sick persons who would wish to receive Absolution must have increased very largely, after the revolution in discipline described in the preceding pages had taken place; and the readiness to impart Absolution for venial sins was a novelty. But I see no reason to doubt that from the very first century of our era *presbyters* were as a rule empowered to do all that was necessary for sick penitents; there was normally no reservation of the power of Absolution to the Bishop, when the sick were in question; and when the sick penitent seemed to be in earnest. Absolution would follow confession with very little delay.

the same impression as it had necessarily produced in an earlier age. In the ninth century, all Christians living outside Spain, and in any way professing to have a care for their salvation, were in the habit of making their confessions from time to time, as for example at great festivals and before communicating, and very specially in any serious illness, and they followed this practice even though they had no very weighty matters to confess. In such a state of things S. James's conditional clause would by no means necessarily suggest either grievous sins or the sacrament of Penance. It would be not unnatural under those circumstances to connect the remission spoken of by the Apostle with the Unction mentioned in the previous verse. And when once such an idea had been taken up by some influential theologian, particularly if he was a friend of the Emperor Charles, there would be little difficulty in a change in the belief and practice of the Church in regard to the Unction of the sick being effected within the bounds of Charles's empire by such a modification of that belief and practice as would bring them into conformity with the new exegesis of the Jacobean passage.

It must be remembered that practically, the Emperor was the supreme ruler of the Church within his dominions, and that his will made itself felt not only in the more external matters of Church discipline but in dogmatic matters also. I am not of course expressing any approval of such a state of things; I am only recording what was the fact, a fact known to everybody who has studied the history of that age. In illustration I will quote and summarize some passages from the pages of a very impartial historian, the late M. Guizot. He says[1]:—

"To tell the truth, from Pippin, King of the Franks, to the Emperor Lewis the Pious[2], it is the temporal ruler, whether king or emperor, who governs the Church. . . . The proofs of this statement are plain. 1. All canons, all measures relating to the Church, are during this period published in the name of the temporal ruler; it is he who speaks, who ordains, who acts. It is sufficient to open the acts of the councils to convince oneself that what has been stated above is

[1] Guizot. *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, 26e Leçon. edit. 1859, tome ii. pp. 293–301.

[2] Pippin reigned as King from 751 to 768. Charles reigned from 768 to 814, and Lewis reigned from 814 to 839.

true. 2. These acts, and many other records, proclaim not merely implicitly but even explicitly that it belongs to the civil ruler to ordain such things, and that the Church lives and acts under his authority. The canons of the Council of Arles, held in 813 during the reign of Charles, terminate thus:—'These things therefore, which in our judgement need to be reformed, we have set forth with all possible brevity, and we have decreed that they should be presented to our Lord, the Emperor, requesting of his clemency that, if anything is lacking it may be supplied by his prudence; if anything be found unreasonable it may be set right by his judgement; if anything be determined in accordance with reason it may with the aid of God's goodness be by his [the Emperor's] help executed[1].'"

Guizot goes on to quote a similar passage from the acts of the Council of Mentz, held a month later than that of Arles[2]. Then he shows by a number of instances how Charles's laws regulated the minutest details of Church

[1] Coleti, ix. 326. It was in the year 813 that Sedulius Scotus wrote his *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, in the nineteenth chapter of which (*P. L.* ciii. 329) occurs the following passage, which describes the relation of the Emperor to the Church:—"Oportet enim Deo amabilem regnatorem, quem divina ordinatio tanquam vicarium suum in regimine Ecclesiae suae esse voluit." For the date of the *De Rectoribus* see the remarks of Cardinal Mai in the extract printed by Migne (*P. L.* ciii. 292).

[2] Cf. Coleti, ix. 329.

discipline; how he requires his commissioners (*missi*) to examine whether the bishops and priests live in accordance with the canons, and whether they know the canons. Then he mentions that, although the Emperor professed to allow the bishops to be freely elected, yet in fact he nearly always named them himself.

Finally, he points out that the Emperor did not confine his action to questions of Church discipline, but that he intervened also in questions of doctrine. He mentions specially the action which Charles took in regard to the worship of images, the Adoptionist heresy, and the introduction of the *Filioque* clause into the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed. It may be added that in regard to the first and last of these matters Charles's view was in absolute opposition to that of the Pope. But there can be no doubt that in much the largest part of his dominions it was the view of the Emperor that prevailed, and not the view of the Pope. Guizot sums up thus:—"On peut donc, sans traiter la question de droit, sans examiner s'il est bon ou mauvais qu'il en soit ainsi, affirmer en fait qu'à cette époque, directement ou indirectement, le pouvoir temporel gouvernait l'Église [1]."

[1] Guizot, *op. cit.*, tome ii. p. 301. The reader is also

There is one matter omitted by Guizot in his exposition which touches our subject very closely, and about which I will therefore say a few words. Charles was keenly interested in all liturgical matters. It was he who suppressed the old Gallican liturgy and substituted the Roman liturgy in lieu of it. The way in which the *ius liturgicum* had practically become lodged in the Emperor's hands may be illustrated by the following passage from an article by Mgr. Duchesne. He tells us that

"in the time of Charles the Great Pope Leo III was desirous of getting rid of a certain cause of strife by suppressing the usage of singing the creed at Mass, which had become customary in France, and he therefore advised the Emperor to abolish this usage in his own chapel, for he knew well that, if that were done, all the churches in France would follow suit, and would suppress the singing of the creed [1]."

As is well known, the Emperor wholly declined to alter the practice of his chapel, where the creed, with the *Filioque* clause inserted, continued to be sung. And, as was

referred to the excellent remarks of M. Imbart de la Tour in his *Élections épiscopales dans l'Église de France*, edit. 1891, pp. 101–106.

[1] *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, tome v. p. 47.

to be expected, the usage followed in the imperial chapel prevailed throughout the Empire, at any rate north of the Alps. Ultimately, though not till two centuries and more had passed away, the imperial custom was adopted at Rome.

I hope that I have made it clear that the years of the reign of Charles the Great formed a period during which it was comparatively an easy thing to propagate over a large part of Western Europe changes in the discipline, and, within limits, even in the creed of the Church, if those changes happened to have commended themselves to the all-powerful Emperor; and, as M. Guizot implies, the same is true of the reign of Charles's successor, Lewis the Pious.

For myself, I am inclined to believe that it was through the influence of either Charles or Lewis, or at any rate with the full cognizance and sanction of one or other of them, that the Jacobean Unction of the early Christian ages became transformed in the West into the sacramental Unction of the later middle ages.

Unless I am mistaken, the earliest Western authority for the later view, about which there can be no doubt as to the drift of its

teaching, is a *Capitulare* of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, an intimate friend of the Emperor Charles, and one of his chief theological advisers[1]. Some account of the teaching of that *Capitulare* on the subject of Unction will be found above, on pp. 193–5; and the Latin text of that part of the *Capitulare* which bears on our subject is given below in Appendix IV (see pp. 398–404).

It has been pointed out[2] by Mr. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen College, Oxford, the learned editor of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, that "there are some portions of this *Capitulare*, especially the penitential rules, and those relating to extreme Unction, which seem to be decrees of a provincial synod." There can, I think, be no doubt about the truth of this observation. One cannot help noticing that among the rules relating to Penance and Unction are included regulations concerning the penances to be imposed on bishops, and concerning the anointing of bishops when they fall ill[3]. Rules on such subjects would

[1] Mgr. Duchesne (*Fastes Épiscopaux*, ii. 416) describes Theodulf as "un savant distingué."

[2] Smith and Wace, *D. C. B.*, s. v. "Theodulfus (3)," vol. iv. p. 987.

[3] Cf. *P. L.* cv. 219, 220, 222.

not naturally be included in a bishop's pastoral charge to his clergy, unless he was promulgating decrees emanating from the provincial council or from some higher authority. If this be so, one would, I think, be justified in assuming as a working hypothesis that these decrees promulgated by Theodulf had been enacted by a provincial council of the province of Sens, the province to which Theodulf, as Bishop of Orleans, belonged.

I have already pointed out that it is probable that at the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône, held in 813, the sacramental theory of Unction had been indicated[1]. That council was one of five councils convoked by Charles to meet in the summer of 813[2]. The Emperor apparently wished that all the bishops of his Frankish kingdom should have opportunities for attending one or other of those five councils[3]. The bishops of the provinces of Lyons and Sens seem to have assembled at Chalon-sur-Saône. And consequently Theodulf

[1] See above, on pp. 72, 73, 75.

[2] Cf. Einhardi, *Annales*, s. a. 813 (Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica—Scriptorum* tom. i. p. 200, and see *Chronicon Moissiacense*, s. a. 813 (*op. cit.* tom. i. p. 310).

[3] These five councils were not mere provincial councils. At the Council of Mentz three Archbishops with their suffragans were present, namely Hildebald of

must in all probability have taken part in that council. We may, I think, assume that,

Cologne, Riculf of Mentz, and Arno of Salzburg. At the Council of Arles at least two Archbishops were present, and there were probably more than two. John of Arles and Nebridius of Narbonne are specially named, because they acted as the Emperor's *Missi*. The Council of Chalon-sur-Saône was not held, like the others, in a metropolitical city, but in a place situated somewhat to the east of the line joining Lyons and Sens. The acts of the council say that it was attended by the bishops and abbots "totius Galliae Lugdunensis." This expression evidently means more than the mere ecclesiastical province of Lyons, which had only four suffragan sees, namely Autun, Langres, Chalon, and Mâcon. On the other hand it cannot mean the whole of the undivided Gallia Lugdunensis, as it existed before its first division in the time of Diocletian. If that had been meant the bishops of the province of Tours would have attended the Council of Chalon, whereas one of the five councils convoked by Charles was held at Tours. I have no doubt therefore that the expression "totius Galliae Lugdunensis" means the whole of the original province of Lugdunensis Prima, as it was constituted by Diocletian, which included not only Lyons and its neighbours, but also Sens and other cities which at a later period were grouped along with Sens. The Diocletianic arrangement continued until about the year 385, when a further subdivision took place, and the province of Lugdunensis Senonia was separated off from the rest of Lugdunensis Prima, and this new civil province was in due time organized ecclesiastically as the Church province of Sens with its metropolitical see and its seven suffragan sees. About the councils which met at Tours and Rheims it is less easy to speak with certainty. I should suppose that

as he was one of the leading theologians of his age, he had no small share in the drafting of the canons. The canons of all the five councils were by the Emperor's orders sent to Aachen, to receive from himself either approbation or revision; and we have no reason to think that he refused his approbation to the forty-eighth canon of Chalon-sur-Saône, the canon on Unction.

The principle of sacramental Unction having been thus secured, Theodulf would naturally, at the next meeting of a provincial council at Sens, take care that the subject of Unction was brought up again, and would either propose or support the passing of a decree regulating the details of the new rite. We

at Tours were gathered the bishops of the two provinces of Rouen and Tours. Under the Diocletianic arrangement those two provinces, which had not then been separated from each other, constituted the province of Lugdunensis Secunda, the metropolis of which was Rouen. At the Council of Rheims the Archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans were certainly present, and probably also the bishops of the province of Trier. Those two provinces had originally formed the one province of Gallia Belgica. At the time when the council was held the Archbishop of Trier, Amalarius, was acting as Charles's ambassador at Constantinople. No provision was made for the bishops of Aquitaine, because Aquitaine had become a separate though subordinate kingdom under Lewis the Pious, Charles's son, as King.

have already seen reason to suppose that such a decree was carried; and Theodulf would then in a pastoral instruction, such as is his second *Capitulare*, promulgate in his diocese the rules enacted by the council of the province. If this be in any measure an approximation to a true account of the matter[1], Theodulf must have issued his second *Capitulare* between the years 813 and 818, because in the latter year he was deprived of his bishopric on a charge of having been privy to the revolt of Bernard, King of Italy, against his uncle, the Emperor Lewis.

I have tried to give what seems to me to be a reasonable account of how, on my hypothesis, the change from Jacobean to sacramental Unction may have been effected in the West. I wish that it were within my power to investigate with equal fullness the bearing of my hypothesis on the change of view in regard to Unction, which at some time or other took place in the East. But, as I have already intimated[2], I know very little about

[1] It is to be noted that my argument in this chapter in no way depends on the truth of the theory that a decree of a provincial Council of Sens intervened between the canon of the Council of Chalon and the publication of Theodulf's *Capitulare*.

[2] See above, on p. 130.

the history of Unction in the East during the early middle ages.

The evidence of Origen, S. Chrysostom, and Victor of Antioch, as well as that of the early Eastern forms for blessing the *Oleum Infirmorum* seem to show that the East did not practise the *sacramental* Unction of the sick during the first five centuries. There is indeed no doubt that in those early ages, in the East as well as elsewhere, the sick were often anointed; but it was with a view to their physical recovery. It must, however, be noticed that the change in the penitential discipline began earlier in the East than in the West. In the year 391, owing to a scandal arising out of the confession of a lady to the penitentiary priest at Constantinople, the Bishop, Nectarius, suppressed the office of penitentiary priest in that great capital, and radically changed the whole penitential discipline of his church [1]. Sozomen, speaking of the East, tells us that nearly everywhere the bishops followed the example of Nectarius [2].

Morinus seems to imply that from the end of the fourth century to the present time the

[1] Cf. Socrat. *H. E.* v. 19; and see Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive*, edit. 1902, pp. 149–158.

[2] Cf. Sozomen. *H. E.* vii. 16.

administration of the sacrament of Penance has remained practically unchanged in the Eastern Church. The whole process is carried on in private, that is to say, not only the preliminary confession, but also the fulfilment of the penance and the ministration of Absolution; and moreover penitents may come again and again to confession, and they may be absolved repeatedly during their lifetime [1]. Public penance in the old sense of the expression has altogether ceased, even in the case of public sins. I believe that, as a rule, lay members of the Orthodox Eastern Church, whenever they propose to come to Communion, go first to confession, whether they have deadly sins to confess or not.

It would seem therefore that, if I was right in supposing that the change in the penitential discipline in the West led on to a change in the interpretation assigned to the passage in S. James's Epistle, which deals with the Unction of the sick, one may be justified in supposing that a similar change in the East may have produced a similar result. And as the change in the penitential discipline took place considerably earlier in the East than in the West, we may conclude that there is

[1] Cf. Morin. *de Poenitentia*, lib. vi. capp. xx–xxvi.

some probability that the sacramental theory of Unction prevailed in the East before it prevailed in the West. It certainly did ultimately prevail in the East, because, as we have seen, the Office for the administration of the Prayer-oil in the Euchologion testifies to that fact. But the date of its becoming prevalent in that part of the Church is at present unknown to me; though for a reason mentioned above, in note 2 on p. 135, I should suppose that the Office of the Prayer-oil is probably later than the middle of the sixth century, and it may be as late as the ninth [1].

If the new teaching about Unction was established first in the East, it may very probably have ultimately passed from the East to the West, where, as we have seen, a long though unconscious preparation for its reception had been going on. And if the new teaching did so pass, the reign of Charles the Great would be a time when it would be specially easy for the West to accept from the East a rite which was in some respects new to it.

Embassies were frequently sent by Charles to Constantinople; and in like manner the rulers of the Eastern Empire frequently sent

[1] See above, on pp. 135, 136.

embassies to Aachen [1]. These embassies were not seldom headed by bishops. Thus Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, went as ambassador to Constantinople in 802, and Hatto or Haido of Basle in 811, and Amalarius of Trier in 813. And again Michael, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, came as ambassador to Aachen in 803 and also in 812.

Considering the great interest which Charles and some of his advisers took in liturgical and theological matters, it seems not at all unlikely that Western bishops, who had been to Constantinople, would report on their return to Aachen any differences which they might have noticed or might have otherwise learnt in regard to the Eastern teaching and practice concerning the Unction of the sick. And when Eastern bishops came to Charles's court, we can easily surmise that, coming as they did from an ancient centre of civilization and Christianity, they would be eagerly cross-questioned by Charles and his prelates in regard to liturgical or ritual points in which Constantinople differed from Aachen. The monk of Saint Gall, who is, it must be admitted, an untrustworthy chronicler, tells an anecdote

[1] Compare Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. viii. p. 210.

which illustrates what I am saying, and which so entirely fits in with what we know about Charles, that one feels that it has every appearance of being true. The monk tells the story to show what very capable men Charles had around him, men able to fulfil at a moment's notice any command that might be laid upon them. He says that one year, on the Octave of the Epiphany, certain Greek ambassadors were present when Lauds were being sung in the Emperor's chapel. After the service they retired to their own apartments and began to sing in their own language portions of their own Greek choir-office. The Emperor, hidden near by, was delighted with the sweetness of their singing, and he gave orders that the clerks of his chapel were not to taste anything until they had, each of them, presented him with a Latin translation of those same Greek "anthems" (*antiphonas*). The monk adds:—"Inde est quod omnes eiusdem sunt toni, et quod in una ipsarum pro *contrivit*, *conteruit* positum invenitur [1]."

[1] The Monk of Saint Gall's *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. ii. cap. x, *P. L.* xcviii. 1395. I cannot refrain from illustrating my argument by quoting a passage from the *Avant-Propos* prefixed to the Solesmes reproduction of the manuscript Ambrosian Antiphonary preserved in the British Museum, and published in the *Paléographie Musi-*

I gather from the preceding chapter of the monk's narrative that these Greek ambassadors were precisely those who presented to Charles the Eastern Emperor's reply to the letters

*cale*, tome v. The learned and ingenious author of that *Avant-Propos*, Dom Cagin, is explaining how it came to pass that the Latins borrowed from the Greeks various liturgical pieces; and in particular how they obtained the anthem, *Sub tuum praesidium*, which is evidently translated from the Ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν in the Vesper office of the Greek Horologion, and he suggests that it was probably obtained in the time of Charles the Great, when, as he points out, embassies of the Greeks to Aachen were not infrequent. He refers to the monk of Saint-Gall's story, and though he does not guarantee its truth, he adds (pp. 15, 16):—"Rien n'est toutefois plus vraisemblable, étant donné l'intérêt bien connu de Charlemagne et des siens pour les institutions liturgiques. Quand même le moine de Saint-Gall ne nous aurait laissé aucun souvenir de ce genre, il nous paraît naturel d'aller chercher l'une des explications peut-être les plus obvies et les plus probables des rencontres qui nous occupent, dans un milieu aussi cosmopolite qu'étaient alors l'école et la chapelle du palais de Charlemagne. . . . Nous mettons en avant le nom de Charlemagne et de sa chapelle, parce que cette époque était précisément l'âge d'or de l'activité liturgique." I add here, for the sake of those to whom it may be of interest, that the antiphon, which, if the monk's story is true, was translated by the Emperor's clerks, is the antiphon to the *Benedicite* at Lauds on the Octave of the Epiphany in the Sarum Breviary. The reading in that Breviary is *contrivit*. Dom Cagin (loc. cit.) says that in the "Antiphonaire de Hartker" the reading is *conteruit*.

brought to Constantinople in 811 by Haido or Hatto, Bishop of Basle. That Greek embassy, which reached Aachen in 812, was headed, as we have seen, by Michael, Metropolitan of Philadelphia. Remembering this date, it is interesting to recall that the first indication of the appearance of sacramental Unction in the West occurs in one of the canons of the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône, a council which was held in 813. Does not the proximity of these two events lend some support to my suggestion that the Franks learnt the new teaching about Unction from the Easterns, and that that teaching came to the West by the channel of the embassies which went to and fro between the two imperial courts in the time of Charles the Great? In this connexion it is noteworthy that Theodulf in his *Capitulare* elaborately describes the way in which the Greeks administered Unction, and declares that in following that way they "ipsam traditionem apostolorum imitantur[1]." Doubtless the confiding Bishop of Orleans believed all that the Greek ambassadors had told him.

I wish before concluding this chapter to

[1] See Appendix IV below, on p. 401, and see also *P. L.* cv. 221.

repeat what I said at its beginning, namely that my main argument in no way depends on the truth of my conjecture about the possible cause or causes of the uprising of the new teaching about Unction. I give the conjecture for what it may be worth. The facts that I have gathered together are, I believe, true; and they seem to me to point out one possible way in which the new practice and teaching may have been introduced first into the East and then into the West. There may be other possible ways. But of this I feel certain, that, when once the new practice and teaching had been accepted by the Church in the Frankish kingdom, they were on the high road to being generally accepted throughout the whole of the West.

## ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER V.

In the tenth section of the first of Charles the Great's Capitularies, promulgated in 769 or soon after, the following passage occurs:—"Ut de incestis et criminosis magnam curam habeant sacerdotes, ne in suis pereant sceleribus, et animae eorum a districto iudice Christo eis requirantur. Similiter de infirmis et poenitentibus, ut morientes sine sacrati olei unctione et reconciliatione et viatico non deficiant" (cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum* sect. ii. tom. i. pars prior, p. 45). I have quoted this passage,

because it contains an injunction to Priests to be careful to anoint dying persons. I have already pointed out in the last sentence of the note on p. 192 that "dying persons may sometimes have been anointed in the earlier centuries, in the hope that God would be pleased to grant recovery." Probably that would be the object which Charles had in view in the passage quoted above. It will be noticed that the mention of the Unction precedes the mention of the Reconciliation or Absolution, as that again precedes the mention of the Viaticum. It seems, therefore, unlikely that the Unction was meant to be regarded as a channel of forgiveness. The passage from the Capitulary may be illustrated by the canon attributed to S. Boniface, and probably enacted in 745 or thereabouts, a canon which is quoted above, in the note on p. 202. That canon evidently had in view Jacobean Unction.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Divergent Views of the Defenders of the Sacramental Theory.

I have now finished my argument against the sacramental character of the Unction of the sick, so far as that argument depends on the appeal to Scripture and Tradition. But before I pass on to the consideration of objections, I should like to indicate a fresh confirmation of my conclusion by pointing out the lack of agreement as to the supposed primary spiritual effect of the Unction, which is manifested by the defenders of the sacramental theory. They are indeed all agreed that the supernatural curing of disease is one of the purposes for which the Unction was instituted; and I desire to associate myself wholly with them in that side of their common teaching. But with them the healing of disease occupies a secondary position. They are all agreed that the *primary* object of the ordinance is the imparting of sanctifying grace. And I too should agree with them in that also, if I supposed that sanctifying grace was one of the normal effects of the Unction. But I have given my reasons for dissenting from the view that the Unction of

the sick has any sanctifying grace to convey *ex opere operato*. However, of course, the defenders of the sacramental theory part company with me there. But the point which I wish to urge is that, when they try to state what the primary spiritual effect of the supposed sacrament is, one discovers that their agreement has come to an end, and that it is almost a case of *quot homines tot sententiæ*.

When the Unction first began to be regarded as a channel for conveying sanctifying grace, the grace which was thought of was the grace of the remission of sins. The whole of the new theory was built up on a misinterpretation of the Jacobean passage. That passage, as we have seen, is divided into two parts. The first part, dealing with all the sick, speaks of the Prayer-oil as a means of restoring physical health to body and soul. The interpretation of that part of the passage remained unchanged. It was the second part which began to be misinterpreted. In that second part of the passage S. James declares that to some sick people remission will be granted. The Apostle implies that the sins will have to be confessed to the presbyters, before the remission can be imparted through their ministration. The Fathers of the Church rightly understood that S. James was speaking

of that process which in later times was called the sacrament of Penance. But, according to the new theory, which in the West began to grow up in the ninth century, it was supposed that S. James intended to connect the promised remission of sins with the Unction. The Unction therefore began to be regarded as a sacrament, of which the principal fruit was the remission of sins, and the secondary fruit was the curing of disease. The prayers in the mediaeval and modern Eastern Offices for Unction are almost entirely taken up with those two subjects; I refer of course to the Offices composed after the spread and general acceptance of the new theory. The same may be said of the Western Offices for administering Unction from the ninth century onwards. They all contained prayers for the curing of disease; but the formula which was used while the oil was being applied to the sick person was as a rule so framed as to concentrate attention and expectation on the gift of the remission of sins only. In the modern Eastern Church one of the most authoritative standards of doctrine is the Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, which was drawn up by Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kieff from 1632 to 1647, and after being revised by the

Council of Jassy in 1643, was authenticated by the signatures of the four Eastern patriarchs, and also of a number of other high dignitaries belonging to the Orthodox Eastern communion. The 119th question in the first part of the Confession asks what are the fruits of the sacrament of the Prayer-oil. The answer to that question is as follows[1]:

"The Apostle James explains the advantages and fruits of this sacrament, namely, remission of sins, or, in other words, the salvation of the soul, and also health of body; and although this latter fruit is not always obtained, yet the remission of the sins of the soul is always imparted to one who repents."

Bishop Macarius of Vinnitza emphasizes the remission of sins, as being the only spiritual fruit of the Unction recognized in his communion. He says[2]:

"As to the doctrine of the Roman Catholics, who regard this Unction chiefly as a *viaticum* for the sick man, as a sacrament fortifying his soul against the terrors of death, this doctrine is altogether arbitrary. Neither the precept of the Apostle on this subject, nor the ceremonial of this sacrament, used in all ages [?] in the Orthodox Church, nor the

[1] See *Monumenta Fidei Eccl. Orient.*, ed. Kimmel. 1850. p. 197.

[2] Macaire, *Théologie dogmatique orthodoxe* (traduction française), ed. 1860, tom. ii. p. 563.

ancient ceremonial of the Church of Rome herself, as it is set forth by Pope Gregory the Great, affords us the smallest allusion to this pretended *viaticum* of the sick man. Nothing is mentioned by these authorities, except the recovery of health and the remission of sins."

As we might expect, we find similar teaching in the earlier Latin authorities who wrote after the sacramental theory of Unction had been adopted. I will begin by recalling the words of the Council of Pavia which I have already quoted. That Council, which was held in the year 850, speaking of the Unction of the sick, describes it as

"A truly great and exceedingly to be longed for mystery, by means of which, if it is earnestly asked for in faith, both sins are remitted, and, as a consequence, bodily health is restored [1]."

S. Peter Damiani, who was born in 988 and lived here on earth till 1072, says in a sermon on the dedication of a church that the *Oleum Infirmorum* is a "liquor excellens," "by which health is restored, sin is forgiven, and the fear of the Lord is introduced [2]." I do not

[1] Coleti, ix. 1067.

[2] S. Petr. Damian. *Serm.* lxix., *P. L.* cxliv. 899. The Latin theologians of the age of S. Peter Damiani had not thought of the device which commends itself to most modern Roman Catholic divines, who apply the word "alleviabit" (the mediaeval translation of ἐγερεῖ), in the

remember that I ever came across any other author who mentioned as an effect of Unction "the introduction of the fear of the Lord." That is a point peculiar to S. Peter Damiani, having no basis in Scripture or tradition. But S. Peter is merely echoing the general belief of his age when he speaks of the recovery of health and the forgiveness of sins as the two most prominent effects of Unction. Geoffrey, Abbot of Vendôme from 1093 to 1132, speaking of the spiritual effects of certain sacraments, says: "In the Unction of the sick is given through the Holy Ghost the remission of sins[1]."

Many of the schoolmen maintained this view, which they had inherited from their

Jacobean passage, to the infusion of grace into the soul to help and comfort it in the hour of death. Damiani rightly regards the word "alleviabit" as applying to the body. Speaking of the Unction, he says: "Videsne qualiter sacerdotalis manus infirmantis *corpus alleviat*?" (cf. loc. cit.). So also Hugh of S. Victor (A. D. 1098–1140) says of Unction: "Duplici ex causa sacramentum hoc institutum, et ad peccatorum scilicet remissionem, et ad corporalis infirmitatis allevationem" (Cf. *De Sacramentis*, lib. ii. pars xv. cap. 2). Similarly the schoolman, William of Auxerre, who flourished *circa* 1230, said that according to S. James "Sacramentum [sc. Unctionis] duplicem habet effectum, scilicet *alleviationem corporis* et remissionem peccati." The passage is quoted in De Launoi's book *De Sacram. Unct. Inf.* cap. ii. obs. xii., *Opp.* ed. 1731, tom. i. part. i. p. 464.

[1] Goffrid. Vindocin. *Opusc.* viii., *P. L.* clvii. 226.

predecessors; only they added that as the sacrament of Penance was instituted for the remission of deadly sins, and we cannot suppose that two sacraments would be instituted with the same end in view, therefore we must hold that the primary effect of the Unction of the sick is the remission of *venial* sins. This was the opinion favoured by S. Bonaventura and Durandus, and Major, and a number of others. Navarrus calls it the *communis sententia*[1]. On the other hand, we have already seen[2] that Bellarmine argues forcibly that S. James cannot be referring to venial sins, because he himself says that "in many things we *all* stumble"; and yet in the passage in which he is dealing with the sick, after referring to their being anointed, S. James says: "And *if* he have committed sins, remission shall be granted unto him." The sins to which S. James refers are therefore deadly sins rather than venial ones, because they are sins committed by only certain sick persons, and not by all. But there still remains the difficulty that *Penance* is the sacrament instituted for the remission of deadly sins, and the schoolmen feel that it is

[1] Cf. Suarez, *de Sacramentis*, pars ii. disp. xli. sect. i., *Opp.* ed. 1748, tom. xix. p. 436.

[2] See above, on pp. 23, 24.

incredible that two sacraments, which differ so much as *Penance* and *Unction*, can have been instituted with the same end in view.

The result was that a new theory was started. B. Albert the Great, S. Thomas, Capreolus, Soto, and others taught that the primary effect of Unction was to remove the *reliquiae* of sins of all kinds, whether original sin or actual sin, whether deadly sin or venial sin[1]. But those who hold this view differ seriously among themselves as to what the *reliquiae* of sins are. Some understand by the *reliquiae* the liability to temporal punishment. But if that is removed by Unction, Roman theologians will have to explain to those who have been anointed, that they will escape Purgatory altogether. Others understand the *reliquiae* to be bad habits left behind through the effect of former indulgence in sin. But in reference to this theory, Suarez very truly observes that it is clear from experience that a man, who in sickness has been anointed, if he afterwards recovers, finds that his bad habits have not been removed. Others describe the *reliquiae* of sin as a certain torpor and difficulty in doing what is right, which result from sin. But this view is open to the same answer as the

[1] Cf. Suarez, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

view which was last mentioned. But all these theories, and others which I have not time to set forth[1], fail, because they do not do justice to S. James's words. S. James says that *remission shall be granted to him,* if he be in the state of sin arising out of past sins. He says nothing about the *reliquiae* of sins being removed[2]. He is speaking of the central gospel gift of ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν, the

[1] Suarez deserts the mediaeval tradition altogether, whether of the Eastern Church or of the Western (*op. cit.*, p. 438). He holds that the Unction of the sick was primarily instituted to convey sacramentally help and comfort to the soul of the sick man, to aid him to overcome the difficulties which crowd upon him when he is in the article of death. But this presupposes that S. James is speaking only of those who *are* in the article of death, a wholly baseless notion. The official teaching of the Roman Communion on the subject of Extreme Unction is of course to be found in the decree of the Council of Trent on that subject. The Tridentine decree is printed below, in Appendix V, on pp. 406–11.

[2] Dr. Ignatius Schmitz, who, if I am not mistaken, is the most recent Roman Catholic writer who has written at length on Extreme Unction, evidently feels the force of this consideration. He says (*De Effectibus Sacramenti Extremae Unctionis*, p. 41): "Enimvero tum patres tum liturgiae Occidentalis et Orientalis Ecclesiae ita de remissione peccatorum loquuntur, ut nullo modo de sola remissione reliquiarum sufficienter intelligi possint; talis restrictio esset revera satis iciuna eorum explicatio." Schmitz must be thinking of the Fathers and compilers of liturgies of the ninth and three following centuries, who based their new sacramental doctrine of Unction on a misapprehension of S. James's meaning.

remission of sins, and he is distinctly contemplating the case of deadly sin. I come back therefore to the conclusion that S. James attributes the remission not to Unction but to Absolution. And I find that conclusion to be corroborated by the inability to come to any agreement which characterizes the Roman theologians, when they try and explain the Jacobean passage in such a way as to deduce from it that the Unction of the sick imparts sanctifying grace. If there has been no similar inability to come to an agreement among the later Eastern theologians, I feel sure that the reason must be that they have never really faced the difficulties inherent in the theory which they hold. Dr. Pusey, in his first Eirenicon (p. 225), made the following very true remark. He said:

"*The* difficulty is, since sins are forgiven authoritatively upon true contrition through the absolution, what sins there can remain afterwards to be remitted; and this the more, since the sick [man] is to be anointed by the priests, and therefore, except *in extremis*, confession could be made, and the absolution pronounced[1]."

We have now considered the mediaeval or

[1] Pusey, *The Truth and Office of the English Church*, ed. 1865, p. 225.

sacramental view of the Unction of the sick from the point of view of Scripture and tradition, and we have found that it has no secure foundation either in the one or the other. When this new theory was adopted and substituted for the solid teaching of the holy Fathers, it was based upon a misunderstanding of the teaching of S. James. And being based on a misunderstanding, the most subtle intellects among the schoolmen have failed to reconcile it either with S. James or with the general teaching of the Church on the central doctrine of the remission of sins. The result is that the schoolmen differ hopelessly among themselves as to what the primary object and effect of the supposed sacrament of Unction is. The Church of England most happily escaped from these confusions when she removed the service for the ministration of sacramental Unction out of her prayer-book. I hope, indeed, that she may in time restore authoritatively the apostolic and primitive usage of Unction. But probably it would have been impossible to do that in the sixteenth century. It was necessary to get finally rid of "the corrupt following of the Apostles," before she could recover the true following. Large bodies move slowly.

## CHAPTER VII.

### An Objection based on the Septenary Number of the Sacraments.

I humbly venture to think that I have proved my *thesis*. But before I go on to the practical side of this discussion, it will be desirable, I think, to consider and answer certain objections, which may not improbably occur to the minds of some of those who read these pages.

It is possible that some one may say to himself, If the Unction of the sick is not a sacrament in the restricted sense of the later schoolmen, how will you make up the full tale of the seven sacraments? If you take away Unction, you leave only six. It is obvious that an objection of that sort proceeds on the supposition that it is one of the divinely revealed truths handed down from the Apostles, that there are precisely *seven* divinely instituted rites, which convey *ex opere operato* sanctifying grace to those who receive them with the proper dispositions.

But it would be difficult to imagine a more entirely baseless supposition than that. It may turn out that there are exactly seven such rites, no more and no less. But what is quite certain is, that the Apostles did not commit to the Church any doctrine about the septenary number of the sacraments as a revealed regulative principle, which could be used for dogmatic purposes. The word "sacrament," as it was used by the later schoolmen, was the creation of theologians, and the numbering of the sacraments was a process initiated and carried out by them. We undoubtedly owe respect to the work of men, some of whom were endowed with most remarkably acute minds, and with a wonderful range of knowledge, considering the age in which they lived. But the theologians of later ages have had to revise hundreds of their conclusions, and the precise septenary number of the sacraments will only have a binding authority on us, when we are satisfied that there is sufficient evidence in Holy Scripture and in Tradition that each of the seven rites, admitted by the schoolmen into their restricted list of sacraments, does in fact impart sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*, and that no other rite does so. It is the septenary

number of the sacraments which has to be tested by investigating the sacramental character of the separate rites. Any attempt to determine the sacramental character of the rites by assuming the septenary number as an irreformable dogma, would be a fundamental mistake. It would of course be otherwise if the septenary number of the sacraments formed part of the catechetical teaching of the Church handed down from the beginning. It would even be otherwise, at any rate for many purposes, if the Church had, after due investigation, solemnly decided that there are exactly seven rites, no more and no less, which convey *ex opere operato* sanctifying grace; and if that solemn decision had been ecumenically accepted and ratified. But no such solemn decision on this point has ever been made and ecumenically ratified. The question is one of very high importance, and as it happens, so to speak, to cross our path, it deserves that we should spend some little time in investigating it.

I hardly think it worth while to quote passages from the Fathers showing the way in which they used the word *sacramentum*. It is admitted on all hands that in the patristic age the restricted meaning of the word

sacrament, as it was used by the later schoolmen, had not been invented. S. Augustine constructs a definition of the way in which he used the word sacrament. In a letter to Marcellinus, in which he had spoken of the Israelite sacrifices as signs (*signa*), he goes on to say concerning signs, that "when they pertain to the things of God they are called sacraments" ("quae cum ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur[1]"). It is admitted also that in the whole range of patristic literature no one of the Fathers has ever once grouped together the seven rites to which in the later middle ages the schoolmen restricted the use of the word *sacrament*. Cardinal Franzelin elaborately discusses how it came to pass that the Fathers never once grouped those seven rites together[2]. Of course, by entering on a discussion of the cause or reason of a certain phenomenon, he admitted the existence of that phenomenon.

I think that the best way in which I can bring home to my readers the non-existence of any apostolical tradition as to the septenary

[1] S. Augustin. *Ep.* cxxxviii. *ad Marcellinum*, § 7, *P. L.* xxxiii. 527.

[2] Franzelin. *Tractat. de Sacramentis in genere*, ed. 1873, thes. xix. p. 273.

number of the sacraments, will be by setting before them the way in which two very distinguished men belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries speak about the sacraments, and number them or classify them. I refer to S. Peter Damiani, the friend of Pope Gregory VII, and Hugh of S. Victor, who was called by some of his contemporaries "the second Augustine," and by others "the soul of S. Augustine"; exaggerations, no doubt, but still tokens of the extraordinary position among theologians which Hugh of S. Victor had reached. S. Peter Damiani, in a sermon on the dedication of a church, speaking of the holy Church, the Spouse of Christ, says [1]:

"In her is accumulated a manifold variety of sacraments, and in her the ancient mercies of the Lord our God are preserved. And, that I may briefly divulge the investigation of my little intelligence, I would say that there are *twelve sacraments* in the Church, which the piety of the one faith preserves."

Here we get, what is not very common in the pre-scholastic writers, a counting up of the sacraments; and S. Peter announces that they are twelve in number, and he

[1] S. Petr. Dam. *Serm.* lxix., *P. L.* cxliv. 898.

proceeds to name them. They are Baptism, Confirmation, the Unction of the sick, the Consecration of a bishop, the Anointing of a king, the Dedication of a church, Confession, Canons of a cathedral, Monks, Hermits, Nuns, and Marriage. As may be supposed, I am not commending this enumeration as one which it would be advisable to adopt. I refer to it because S. Peter Damiani was the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the Dean therefore of the college of Cardinal Bishops, and the bosom friend of Pope Gregory VII, in other words of Hildebrand. He was also *one* of the most distinguished theologians of his time; perhaps *the* most distinguished. If there had been any tradition about the septenary number of the sacraments in the Church, he must have known about it. And if he had known about it, he could not have calmly told his audience that there were twelve sacraments; and he could not, when naming them, have omitted the Holy Eucharist and the Ordination of priests. Even if for special reasons he might choose to enlarge the usual number, he must have safeguarded the normal teaching of the Church, for otherwise his hearers would get into a hopeless state of confusion.

And now to pass to a greater man, Hugh of

S. Victor. Hugh's most elaborate dogmatic work is his *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*. In the course of that work he mentions nearly thirty sacraments: and he not only mentions them but he classifies them. He says in one place [1]:

"There are three sorts of sacraments. . . . In the first place, there are certain sacraments in which chiefly salvation consists and is received, as the water of Baptism, and the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ. And then there are others, which although they are not necessary for salvation, . . . yet profit for sanctification, because in them virtue can be exercised and ampler grace acquired, as the water of sprinkling, the receiving of ashes, and the like. And again there are other sacraments which appear to be instituted for this sole purpose, that through them those things which are needed for sanctifying and accomplishing the other sacraments, are in a certain way prepared and hallowed, as concerning the Consecration of persons who are being admitted into any of the sacred orders, or in the benediction of those things which pertain to the vesture of those in sacred orders. The sacraments belonging to the first of these three groups have been instituted *ad salutem*; those belonging to

[1] Hug. de S. Vict. *De Sacram. Christ. Fid.* lib. i. part. ix. cap. 7, *P. L.* clxxvi. 327.

the second group have been instituted *ad exercitationem*; and those belonging to the third group *ad praeparationem*."

Now here again I am not suggesting for a moment that Hugh's classification would be a good one for us to follow. But what I do say is this, that it is impossible to suppose that he could have written his very elaborate treatise *De Sacramentis*, in which he treats with great fullness of the whole subject of sacraments, and in which he arranges and classifies them, without once alluding to the group of seven sacraments which were afterwards set apart as the only real and proper sacraments, if he had known that there was an apostolic tradition handed down in the Church about the septenary number of the sacraments properly so called. Hugh died in 1141 at the age of 44. He wrote a vast number of books, and his *De Sacramentis* is the crown of his whole work. It was probably written in the last five or six years of his life. So that for 1135 years the Church of God existed without knowing about the proposition that there are exactly seven sacraments, neither more nor less.

It is sometimes said that the first indication of the existence in the Church of a doctrine

of seven sacraments is to be found in a certain instruction on the sacraments which is put into the mouth of S. Otto of Bamberg by the anonymous writer of one of the early Lives of that Saint. If we are to believe the statement which is now found in that Life, S. Otto, when he was instructing his Pomeranian converts in the year 1124, dogmatically laid down that there are exactly seven sacraments, namely those seven which are commonly enumerated in later Latin theology. It is difficult to believe that S. Otto was teaching with such precision this doctrine to his converts who had just emerged from heathenism, when ten or fifteen years later Hugh of S. Victor, the leading theologian of the University of Paris and of all Christendom in that age, says nothing about any such doctrine in his elaborate treatise on the sacraments of the Christian Faith [1]. And the real truth is

[1] There is a treatise entitled—*De cerimoniis, sacramentis, et observationibus ecclesiasticis*, which was at one time attributed to Hugh of S. Victor, and which asserts that there are "seven principal sacraments ministered in the Church." But the Abbé Migne in his *Patrologia Latina* has relegated this treatise to the appendix, and attributes its authorship to one Robertus Paululus, who appears to have published his treatise about the year 1178, nearly thirty years after the doctrine of the septenary number

that this anonymous Life of S. Otto was in all probability written at least forty years after the Saint's first missionary journey to Pomerania. It speaks of Embrico, Bishop of Würzburg, as if he had been dead for some considerable time, and we know that he died in 1142 [1]. The Life was almost certainly written at or near Bamberg; and if it was written about the year 1164, it is quite conceivable that the theory of the seven sacraments had reached Bamberg by that time, and might easily be put by a monastic biographer into the mouth of his hero. But I am bound to add that I am by no means sure that the instruction on the seven sacraments formed any part of the original Life of S. Otto. Any one who will read the first two sections of the Previous Commentary, prefixed by the Bollandists to their reprint of the two ancient Lives of the Saint [2], will see that those Lives have not come down to us in their original form, but that there have been, in all probability, omissions, interpolations, and alterations. Personally, I feel quite sure that the instruction

of the sacraments had, as we shall see, been devised and popularized by Peter Lombard.

[1] Cf. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, ed. 1873, p. 324.

[2] *Acta SS.*, tom. i. Jul., pp. 349–354.

on the sacraments, in the form in which we have it now, was never given to the Pomeranian neophytes by S. Otto.

It was not, I believe, until twenty-six or twenty-seven years after S. Otto's first preaching in Pomerania that the theory that there are exactly seven sacraments was devised. During that interval Gratian's epoch-making book, the *Decretum*, had come out[1] in Bologna, with no trace in it of the septenary number of the sacraments. At last, in the year 1151, or thereabouts, two important books appeared, one in Rome and the other in Paris, both of them bearing the same title. I refer to the *Sentences* of Cardinal Rolandus, better known as the illustrious Pope Alexander III, and to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, a book almost as epoch-making as the *Decretum* of Gratian.

It is not quite clear to me whether Rolandus in his book meant to enumerate *seven* or

[1] The distinguished canonist, M. Paul Fournier of Grenoble, has discussed the date of the publication of the *Decretum* in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* (tome iii. pp. 253–280). He formulates his conclusion on p. 280 thus: "Le Décret de Gratien a été très vraisemblablement rédigé vers 1140, ou tout au moins à une époque plus voisine de 1140 que de 1150." Friedberg, von Schulte, Gietl, and Father Denifle assign the *Decretum* to 1140 or thereabouts (cf. *op. cit.* pp. 254 5).

*eight* sacraments. In the chapter of his treatise entitled *De Sacramentis*, he begins by discussing the question of the proper definition of a sacrament. When that discussion is concluded, he says: "Being, therefore, about to treat of the sacraments, let us begin with that chief sacrament, namely, the Incarnation of the Word [1]." The discussion of the Incarnation occupies thirty-seven pages. When it is concluded, Rolandus says:

"Having thoroughly treated of those things which appertain to the sacrament of the Incarnation, we must proceed to treat thoroughly of *the other* sacraments, and first of the sacrament of Baptism [2]."

After treating of the sacrament of Baptism, he goes on to treat successively of the sacrament of Confirmation, the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the sacrament of Penance, the sacrament of Unction, and finally of the sacrament of Marriage. Altogether he treats of seven sacraments. But his list does not agree with the Tridentine list; for Rolandus includes in his list the sacrament of the Incarnation, which does not appear in the Tridentine list, and he omits the sacrament of

[1] *Die Sentenzen Rolands*, ed. Gietl, 1891, p. 157.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 194.

Order, which finds a place in the Tridentine list. It must be observed, however, that between the section *De sacramento Poenitentiae* and the section *De sacramento Unctionis* there is intercalated a section *De vitiis et virtutibus*; and similarly between the section *De sacramento Unctionis* and the section *De sacramento Matrimonii* there is intercalated a section *De clavibus sacerdotalibus*. Rolandus never speaks of the *claves sacerdotales* as a sacrament; he discusses them in connexion with the absolution of the priest, which constitutes one element of the sacrament of Penance; and he mentions the fact that when any one receives the Order of Priesthood he receives these keys along with it. He therefore does not identify the keys with Order, but regards them as a concomitant or appendage of Order. On the whole, as I understand the matter, Rolandus mentions seven sacraments, which agree with the seven Tridentine sacraments, with the one exception that the sacrament of the Incarnation takes the place of the sacrament of Order. If any one thinks that Rolandus intends his readers to regard the *claves sacerdotales* as a sacrament, then it will follow that he teaches that there are *eight* sacraments. Whichever view is adopted,

it is clear that this Cardinal, who eight years afterwards became one of the greatest of the Popes, was wholly unconscious in the year 1151 of any apostolical tradition to the effect that Baptism, Confirmation, the Holy Eucharist, Penance, Unction, Ordination, and Marriage, constitute a group of seven mysteries which alone have the right to be regarded as the true and proper sacraments of the new Covenant.

The publication of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* must have taken place almost at the same time as the publication of Rolandus's *Sentences*. It is a curious fact that, whereas Rolandus seems to have been a much greater man than Peter Lombard, the book of *Sentences* compiled by the latter has produced a very much greater effect in the Church and in the world than the book of *Sentences* compiled by the former. For five hundred years or thereabouts the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard held its place as the leading manual of theology in the Latin Church. In England alone 160 different commentaries on the book were written and published [1]. And the very greatest of the continental schoolmen, such as S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Bonaventura, and B. Albert the

[1] Cf. *P. L.* cxci. 22.

Great, besides countless other divines of less renown, chose to put on record their theological teaching by commenting in writing on the Master of the Sentences, as Peter Lombard was called. Now in his fourth book of the Sentences, Peter Lombard gives a list of the sacraments of the new Covenant, and his list agrees exactly with the list given by the Council of Trent. He mentions seven rites, and seven only, and those seven rites are the very seven [1] which have been regarded as sacraments by the later Latin theologians both before and after the Council of Trent. My belief is that he was the first to group those seven together, excluding all others, and to apply to those seven only the title of sacrament. At the time when he published his book no one could have foreseen that his determination was going to prevail in the way that it did. His enumeration of the sacraments was merely one among many enumerations, all of which differed from his. There was no tradition in favour of his enumeration. It was a pure novelty. Nevertheless the fact that his book became the recognized theological handbook in all the universities and colleges and monasteries of

[1] Lib. iv. *Sentent.* dist. ii. § 1, *P. L.* cxii. 841-2.

the Latin Church was the cause of his doctrine about the sacraments, and about their number, being spread far and wide. It is true that his older contemporaries, or at any rate many of them, remained unaffected by his teaching; but the next generation learnt their theology from him, and they passed it on to those who came after them. Not that they agreed with him in everything. In this very matter of the sacraments, while he gave that name to only seven rites, and while he selected the very seven which, four hundred years afterwards, were defined to be sacraments by the Council of Trent, he held that only six out of the seven impart sanctifying grace, for in his discussion of questions connected with the sacrament of Matrimony he nowhere suggests that that sacrament confers grace. He holds that it is a sacred sign of a sacred thing, namely, of the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and His Church. He holds also that it was ordained for a remedy against sin[1]. But that is all that he has to say

[1] Lib. iv. *Sentent.* dist. xxvi. §§ 2 et 6, *P. L.* cxii. 908–10. Peter Lombard teaches that the Sacrament of Matrimony had a twofold institution. It was instituted first before the fall, in paradise, "ad officium"; and it was instituted a second time after the fall, and outside of paradise, "ad remedium," "propter illicitum motum devitandum." He

about its sacramental character. In the Tridentine sense of the word sacrament, Peter Lombard believed in six sacraments and not in seven. His pupils and followers might have corrected his enumeration, and have taught that there are six sacraments only. But the mystical number seven was pleasing to the mediaeval mind, and moreover S. Paul had used the expression: "Sacramentum hoc magnum est [1]," when speaking of that which marriage symbolizes; and consequently the schoolmen continued to regard marriage as one among the seven sacraments; and in order to justify its position among them they invented the perfectly new doctrine, hitherto unheard of, namely, that marriage imparts sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*. However, the authority of the Master of the Sentences so far prevailed with them that they did not venture to lay down their new doctrine as *de fide*, but only as the more probable opinion [2].

goes on to explain:—"Prima institutio habuit praeceptum, secunda indulgentiam. Didicimus enim ab apostolo, humano generi propter vitandam fornicationem indultum esse coniugium. Indulgentia vero, quia meliora non eligit, remedium habet non praemium."

[1] Eph. v. 32.

[2] Cf. S. Thom. *in* 4 *Sentent.* dist. xxvi. quaest. ii. art. iii, et *Summ. Theol.* part. iii. suppl. quaest. xlii. art. iii, et

It was not until the Council of Trent that this new theory was authoritatively defined and made binding on all members of the Roman communion.

It was in this way that the doctrine of the septenary number of the sacraments established itself in the Latin Church [1]. We must now go on to consider how it spread from the West to the East.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the East and the West were, as a result of the crusades, brought into much closer contact than had been the case during the centuries which had immediately preceded.

In 1098 Antioch fell into the hands of the Latins, and two years later, that is to say in 1100, a Latin Patriarch was enthroned there. He and his Latin successors ruled over the

B. Albert. Magn. *in* 4 *Sentent.* dist. xxvi. art. xiv, *Opp.* ed. 1651, tom. xvi. pp. 581–2.

[1] I beg my readers to observe that I do not draw from the fact that the doctrine of the septenary number of the sacraments was not established until the time of the schoolmen any argument against the conclusion that there are in fact exactly seven sacraments, if that conclusion can be otherwise proved. But I do say that the lateness of the uprising of the doctrine precludes us from regarding it as a regulative principle coming down to us with the weight of apostolic authority. See above, on pp. 241–3.

Church of Antioch, and over such parts of the patriarchate as were subject to the Latins, until 1268, when Antioch was taken by the Sultan of Egypt and reduced to the desolation from which it has never recovered. Similarly there were Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem from 1100 to 1187, in which year Jerusalem was captured by the Saracens, and the Patriarchs ceased to reside there. And once more, as every one knows, the Latin army of the fourth crusade, instead of going straight to the Holy Land, occupied itself with the siege and sack of Constantinople, where in the year 1204 they established a Latin Emperor and a Latin Patriarch. The rule of the Latins in Constantinople and in the European portion of the Byzantine empire lasted for fifty-seven years. It came to an end in 1261, when the Greeks recovered their capital, and drove their Latin rulers back to the West from whence they came. During those fifty-seven years some of the Greek bishops, whose sees were situated within the boundaries of the Latin empire of the East, were subject to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople [1].

[1] Compare Matt. Paris. *Chronic. Mai.*, edit. Luard Rolls Series., s.a. 1245, vol. iv. p. 431; and see also Innocent. iii. *Regest.* lib. xi. ep. 23, *P. L.* ccxv. 1353, and lib. xi. ep.

From what has been said it will be evident that there was every opportunity for Latin theological opinions and beliefs to become familiar to the minds of the Greek clergy in various parts of the East. Some of those opinions and beliefs were firmly resisted by the Greeks, because they had to do with matters which had divided the Eastern and Western Churches for centuries. Especially was this the case in regard to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father. But as regards the septenary number of the sacraments the case was very different. The Greeks had no doctrine about the number of the sacraments. They were on that point theologically in the same condition as that in which the Latins had been during the first eleven and a half centuries of the Christian era. The Greek Fathers had, as a rule, made no attempt to number the sacraments, or to hand on any traditional teaching as to their number. S. Theodore of the Studium, who died in 826, must be excepted, for he asserts that Christ "instituted six sacraments," which he enumerates thus: (1) Baptism, (2) the Holy Communion, (3) the Consecration

155, *P. L.* ccxv. 1468, and lib. xv. ep. 134, *P. L.* ccxvi. 647.

of the Chrism, (4) Ordination, (5) the Monastic habit, (6) the Rites which have to do with those who have died holily. I have no reason to think that the Greek Church ever accepted this enumeration of S. Theodore's, which obviously differs very considerably from the Tridentine list. The Greeks therefore had nothing to oppose on this matter to the Latin teaching, and no doubt in many quarters it was accepted. Probably it was not accepted at once everywhere. At the second Council of Lyons, held in 1274, Pope Gregory X required the Byzantine Emperor, Michael Paleologus, to give his consent to a dogmatic formulary, which dealt with various points, such as the *Filioque*, Purgatory, the Roman primacy, &c., in regard to which the Greeks and Latins had disputed in past times. Among these points was the septenary number of the sacraments[2]. That point would hardly have been included in the formulary, if there had not been some opposition to it among the Greeks. However, the final upshot of the sojourn of the Latins among the Greeks during the period of the crusades was that the Greeks and the Easterns generally learnt

[1] Cf. S. Theodor. Studit. *Epistt.* lib. ii. ep. 165.

[2] Coleti, xiv. 507–14.

to speak of the sacraments as being seven in number [1]. But, while they accepted the septenary number, they were by no means agreed, either with the Latins or with each other, as to what particular rites ought to be reckoned as sacraments. Having no ancient tradition of their own on the matter, each writer felt free to abound in his own sense. Thus Damascenus of Thessalonica, a monk of the Studium, and Job, who was also a monk, substitute the monastic habit, as the sixth sacrament, in lieu of Penance. Vartanus, an Armenian, who wrote in the second half of

[1] If any one thinks that the East learnt the doctrine of the septenary number of the sacraments in some other way, as for example by the contact of Latins with Greeks in Southern Italy, or in consequence of the very close relations, amounting at times to intercommunion, between the Armenians and the Latins during the time of the Crusades and until 1375, I have no objection to make. What is evident is that, so far as is known, the Greeks and Easterns began to speak of seven sacraments about a hundred years after that formula had been introduced among the Latins by Peter Lombard; and to me it seems clear that the formula percolated, by whatever channel or channels, from the West into the East. For the relations of the Armenians with the Crusaders and with Rome, especially from 1200 to 1375, see an article on *Arménie, Histoire Religieuse*, by Père Petit, the Superior of the Assumptionists at Constantinople (*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Vacant et Mangenot, tome i. coll. 1903 et 1904).

the thirteenth century, counts the burial office as the seventh sacrament[1]; and Ebed Jesus, an East Syrian or Nestorian, who died in 1318, substitutes the sacrament of the Holy Leaven and the sacrament of the Sign of the life-giving Cross in place of the sacraments of Order and of the Unction of the sick. This view of Ebed Jesus is, I believe, still held by many Nestorians; but Messrs. Maclean and Browne, who had worked for many years among the Eastern Syrians, have told us that among them "there is no consensus of opinion as to the number of the sacraments[2];" and they mention one writer, Isaac of Ishbad, who counts only two, namely, Baptism and the Holy Communion. I am informed by my friend, the Arch-priest Theodore Isaac, that the septenary number of the sacraments forms no part of the official teaching of the Armenian Church, though that theory has sometimes been taught by Armenians on their

[1] Vartanus identifies the sacrament of Penance with the sacrament of the Unction of the sick, and denies that Confirmation is a separate sacrament, holding that it is part of the sacrament of Baptism. He substitutes in his list of sacraments the consecration of the chrism by a Bishop, in lieu of the administration of the chrism to the newly baptized.

[2] *The Catholicos of the East and his people*, p. 248.

own responsibility. It would appear that such teaching is specially prevalent among those who were once Uniats.

On the whole, it seems clear that the Christians of the East had no independent tradition about the number of the sacraments. They only began to speak about there being seven sacraments a hundred years after Peter Lombard had initiated that theory in the West; and they evidently learnt the theory from the Latins who came to the East in consequence of the crusades. Moreover the earlier Eastern writers, who mention the septenary number, differ from the Latins as to what rites are to be admitted into the septenary group. The whole doctrine is derived, not from the Apostles, but from the Master of the Sentences [1]. We must thank God for having guided the Church of England to remove from her catechetical teaching all traces of a theory resting on such a precarious foundation. It follows, therefore, that the supposed

[1] *The Catholic Dictionary* in its article on *The Sacraments of the Gospel* says :—"The first distinct and certain mention of seven sacraments occurs in Peter Lombard." I quote from the new edition of the Dictionary (ed. 1893, p. 809), which was revised and enlarged with the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Scannell, and which bears the *Imprimatur* of the late Cardinal Vaughan.

septenary number of the sacraments cannot be alleged in order to overthrow the teaching about Unction, in favour of which, as has been shown, Holy Scripture and tradition testify.

But some persons may object that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in later times, the theologians of the Orthodox Eastern Church corrected the mistakes of their predecessors, and adopted the same enumeration of the seven sacraments as that which the Latin schoolmen had accepted from Peter Lombard. Such persons will perhaps say that at the close of the pre-Reformation period the whole Catholic Church, both in the East and in the West, bore witness with one consentient voice to the doctrine about the number and enumeration of the sacraments, which was afterwards defined for the Roman communion by the Council of Trent. And they will add that a doctrine which the whole Church teaches at any given time must be true. It is of the utmost importance that we should investigate this objection, with the view of discovering whether it is sound or not.

Before entering on the discussion of the objection, I call attention to the way in which

I have worded it. I have put into the objector's mouth a reference to "the close of the pre-Reformation period." There is no allusion in his objection to the post-Reformation period. My reason for adopting this wording is as follows.

In the first part of my answer to this objection I am concerned with objectors belonging to the Church of England, and with them only. And it is hardly possible for such objectors to allege that, in the period which has elapsed since the Reformation, the whole Catholic Church has borne witness with one consentient voice to the Tridentine doctrine concerning the number of the sacraments. It is obvious that the Church of England, which *ex hypothesi* is a notable part of the Catholic Church, and a part with which the supposed objector has very intimate relations, has not in any way borne witness during the post-Reformation period to the Tridentine doctrine in question. For, whereas in the Bishops' Book set forth in 1536, and in the King's Book set forth in 1543, the doctrine of the septenary number of the sacraments was set forth with great clearness, this testimony was for good reasons withdrawn at a later stage. The form for administering

sacramental Unction was removed from the Prayer-book in 1552, and has never been replaced. The section of the catechism added in 1604, which deals with the sacraments, says nothing about there being seven of them. It confines itself to the assertion that of sacraments generally necessary to salvation there are two only. The number of the other sacraments it leaves undefined. In the twenty-fifth Article of Religion after speaking of "the two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel," the Church goes on to say that "those five commonly called sacraments . . . are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel" and "have not like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." In the ninth Homily of the second tome, of which the title tells us that it has to do with "Common Prayer and Sacraments," we are distinctly given to understand that there are sacraments besides the two greater ones, though they be not such sacraments as those two are. We are also told that

"In a general acception the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which under-

standing of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like[1]."

Now I do not discuss the question whether acceptance of the Tridentine doctrine concerning the number of the sacraments is compatible with the teaching here set forth, or with such parts of it as are binding on the clergy, but I do unhesitatingly assert that the teaching here set forth does not bear witness to that Tridentine doctrine. And therefore, speaking as a member of the Church of England, I say that in post-Reformation times the whole Catholic Church has not borne witness with one consentient voice to the Tridentine doctrine in question. It is for that reason that I have put into the objector's mouth a reference to "the close of the pre-Reformation period."

My first answer to the objector is this: I wholly deny that there was any consensus even among the Latin schoolmen in favour of the Tridentine doctrine about the number

[1] *Homilies and Canons*, ed. 1840, Oxford, p. 316.

of the sacraments. The Council of Trent teaches that it is *de fide* and necessary to salvation to believe that Christ our Lord instituted precisely seven sacraments, seven and no more, which convey sanctifying grace *ex opere operato* to those who receive them with the proper dispositions[1]. But in the pre-Tridentine period there were illustrious teachers who either denied explicitly that marriage imparted sanctifying grace, or who at any rate, when treating of marriage, said nothing about the fact that it conferred grace, and thus implicitly taught the same doctrine as those first mentioned. Such teachers really taught that there were only six sacraments in the Tridentine sense of the word sacrament. Blessed Albert the Great mentions the view of these teachers as an allowable opinion; and he points out that it was held by the Master of the Sentences, William of Auxerre, Praepositivus, and others[2]. The great schoolman Durandus a Sancto Porciano, who flourished in the fourteenth century, evidently inclined to this opinion, and agrees with Blessed Albert

[1] Cf. *Conc. Trident.* Sess. vii. *Decret. de Sacrament.*, *Canones de Sacrament. in gen.* i, vi, vii, viii.

[2] Cf. B. Albert. Magn. *in* 4 *Sentent.* dist. xxvi. art. xiv, *Opp.* ed. 1651, tom. xvi. pp. 581–2.

the Great as to its permissibility. He mentions that it was the favourite view of the canonists [1]. S. Thomas Aquinas himself, who inclined the other way, does not venture to condemn Peter Lombard's opinion as inadmissible. He only says that "it is *more probable* that Christian marriage is able to confer grace helping those, who receive it, to fulfil the duties of the marriage state [2]."

As regards the mediaeval Eastern theologians, I have already shown that those who first adopted from the Latins the theory that there are exactly seven sacraments did not select the same seven as the Latins had chosen under the guidance of Peter Lombard. Later on, in the fifteenth century, some Greek theologians, such as Simeon of Thessalonica, learnt to assimilate their enumeration of the sacraments to the Latin enumeration [3], but I have

[1] Durand. *in* 4 *Sentent.* dist. xxvi. qu. 3, ed. 1587, Lugdun., p. 825.

[2] See the references to S. Thomas in note 2 on p. 257.

[3] It ought, however, to be noticed that, while in words Simeon and the Eastern Church of the present day seem to adopt the Latin enumeration of the sacraments, in reality the two enumerations differ substantially, the one from the other. For the Eastern Church, when it speaks of Marriage as a sacrament which conveys sanctifying grace to those who receive it with the proper dispositions, is referring to the service for the solemnization of marriage

no reason to think that they were under any obligation to do this, or that they regarded their conclusion as *de fide*; nor do I know that Simeon's view was universally held throughout the Eastern Church in the later middle ages. Some Greeks undoubtedly studied the Latin schoolmen, and picked up their modes of speaking on many points. Thus the Aristotelian language about matter and form, as applied to the sacraments, was apparently introduced among the Latins by William of Auxerre about the year 1220; and in the sixteenth century we find those

and to the benediction of the marriage by the priest (cf. Macaire, *Théologie dogmatique orthodoxe*, partie v. §§ 235 6, trad. franç. 1860, tome ii. pp. 575 9). Whereas according to the almost unanimous opinions of the Latin doctors the matrimonial benediction is a sacramental and not a sacrament; and when they speak of Marriage as a sacrament, they are not referring in any way to the service; they are referring to the contract of marriage; and they lay down that it is not the priest who ministers the sacrament, but rather that the sacrament is ministered by the contracting parties (cf. De Augustinis, *de Re Sacramentar. Praelectt.* Tract. viii. art. iii, ed. 1887, tom. ii. pp. 604–29). Strictly speaking, the seventh sacrament among the Greeks is the matrimonial *benediction*; and the seventh sacrament among the Latins is the matrimonial *contract*, and these are two entirely different things. It follows therefore that even in the present day the Easterns and the Latins do not enumerate the sacraments in the same way.

terms used in connexion with the sacraments by Jeremiah, the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, and after him by Gabriel, Metropolitan of Philadelphia. It is a great mistake to suppose that in the middle ages the Eastern and Western churches had no influence on each other.

It follows from what I have said that my first answer to the objection proposed is this, that the objector is mistaken as to the facts of the case. I deny that at the close of the pre-Reformation period the whole Catholic Church, both in the East and in the West, did bear witness with one consentient voice to the doctrine about the number of the sacraments, which was afterwards defined for the Roman communion by the Council of Trent.

But I go further, and say that, even if some mediaeval period could be found, when the East and the West happened to agree in regard to this matter of the enumeration of the sacraments, it would not follow that that enumeration was irreformable. And similarly I assert that the agreement of the East and the West since the ninth century in the opinion which regards the Unction of the sick as conveying sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*, does not clothe that opinion either

with the attribute of irreformability. No doubt the agreement of East and West is a weighty matter. It produces a certain presumption in favour of any opinion which is supported, at any given time, by the suffrages of those two great portions of the Catholic flock. Still, such an opinion cannot be regarded as irreformable, unless there is good reason to believe that the opinion is a revealed truth which has been handed down as such in the Church from the Apostles.

It is quite certain that new and untrue opinions have not infrequently spread themselves over the Church, and it has been the duty of the faithful to bear witness against these innovations and resist them, even when the innovators have been in an overwhelming majority, and the sound believers only a small minority. Such was the state of things after the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, held, the one in the West and the other in the East, in the year 359. That was the awful time, when, to use S. Jerome's words, "the whole world groaned and marvelled at finding itself Arian[1]." Cardinal Newman inserted in the later editions of his *Arians of the Fourth Century* a graphic description of

[1] S. Hieron. *Dial. advers. Luciferianos*, § 19, *P. L.* xxiii. 172.

the state of things that existed in Christendom in the years 360 and 361. He says: "The cause of truth was only not in the lowest state of degradation, because a party was in authority and vigour who could reduce it to a lower still; the Latins committed to an anti-Catholic creed, the Pope a renegade, Hosius fallen and dead, Athanasius wandering in the deserts, Arians in the sees of Christendom, and their doctrine growing in blasphemy, and their profession of it in boldness every day [1]." Dr. Luke Rivington has expressed the opinion that "scarcely more than eighteen or nineteen bishops in Christendom remained uncompromised [2]." In my opinion that is an exaggeration. It could be shown that there were at least thirty faithful bishops, and perhaps more. Still, the fact remains that nearly the whole episcopate of both East and West had rejected the *ὁμοούσιον*, and had signed Arianizing formulas. Some people would perhaps hold that it was the duty of S. Athanasius and the rest of the little band of faithful Confessors to accept the

[1] Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*, edit. 1871, pp. 362-3; edit. 1888, p. 352.

[2] Rivington's *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, p. 351.

united teaching of East and West, especially as the West was headed at this time by the person whom Newman describes as the "renegade Pope." That however was not the view of S. Athanasius. Heresy might be taught "ubique et ab omnibus." But heresy had not been taught "semper." The fundamental criterion of orthodoxy is the criterion of Apostolicity. The episcopate as a whole had *innovated*. Their teaching was new and therefore was not true. Then was seen the glorious spectacle of "Athanasius contra mundum." And thus the faith was saved. But the lesson remains for all time that the union of East and West at any particular moment in favour of this or that teaching is not a conclusive proof that such teaching is true. If it can be shown that such teaching contradicts the earlier teaching which is found in Holy Scripture and in the tradition which traces back to the Apostles, we must unhesitatingly reject the new and cleave to the old.

And this principle has been continually acted on. It may be well to recall in this connexion the history of the changes of opinion in the Roman communion about the matter of priestly ordination. The Roman communion regards itself as the whole Catho-

lic Church. And there was a time when the whole Roman communion believed that the matter of priestly ordination was the ceremony commonly known as the Porrection of the Instruments. S. Thomas Aquinas, when he has to state what is the matter of priestly ordination, says nothing about the laying on of hands. He only speaks of the porrection of the instruments[1]. Pope Eugenius IV, in a bull issued in 1441 for the instruction of the Armenians at the Council of Florence, follows implicitly the teaching of S. Thomas. He, like the angelic Doctor, when dealing with the matter of priestly ordination, says nothing about the laying on of hands, but speaks only of the porrection of

[1] Cf. S. Thom. *Opusc.* v. *de Articulis Fidei et Sacramentis Ecclesiae*, cap. 14, *Opp.* ed. Venet. 1776, tom. viii. p. 48. S. Thomas, after mentioning that the matter of Baptism is "aqua vera et naturalis," and that the matter of the Eucharist is "panis triticeus et vinum de vite modica aqua permixtum," and after similarly mentioning the matter of Confirmation, Penance, and Unction, goes on to speak of the matter of Order. He says: "Materia autem huius sacramenti est illud materiale per cuius traditionem confertur Ordo: sicut presbyteratus traditur per collationem calicis, et quilibet ordo traditur per collationem illius rei quae praecipue pertinet ad ministerium illius ordinis. Forma autem huius sacramenti est talis: 'Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis.'"

the instruments[1]. The fact that the Pope should have made such a statement in a bull promulgated at a council which was regarded as ecumenical, and with its approbation[2], and addressed to a church like the Armenian, which had for long centuries been out of communion with the Roman see, shows conclusively how widespread within the Latin Church must have been the acceptance of S. Thomas's teaching about the matter of priestly ordination. If there were any who still rejected that teaching, the promulgation of Eugenius's bull must have had the effect of bringing them into line[3]. The service for the ordination of priests in the Roman Pontifical bears witness to this day to the fact of the porrection of the instruments having been regarded as the matter of priestly ordination. In that service those who are being ordained are called "*Ordinandi*" up to the moment of the porrection. After the porrection they are called "*Ordinati*."

[1] Cf. Coleti, xviii. 550.

[2] "Sacro concilio approbante."

[3] It is true that in France the ecumenicity of the Council of Florence was disputed; but I have no reason to think that any one in France or elsewhere opposed the teaching of the Pope and the Council on the subject of the porrection of the instruments at any date anterior to the Lutheran revolt in 1517.

However, when the second Edwardine Ordinal was compiled, in the reign of Edward VI, our English compilers of the Prayer-book, knowing that the porrection of the instruments was a mediaeval and not a primitive ceremony, excluded it altogether from the English rite. They thus restored the primitive doctrine about the matter of priestly ordination, and got rid of the Thomistic error. In some parts of the Roman communion, during the course of the sixteenth century, doubts began to be felt as to the truth of S. Thomas's teaching on the subject of the matter of priestly ordination, but among the great majority that teaching continued to be held with unwavering faith. At last, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the French Oratorian, Morinus, published his great work, *De Sacris Ordinationibus*, in which he showed conclusively that the porrection of the instruments in the ordination of priests was a ceremony unknown to the Latin Church of the first nine centuries, and unknown to the Greek and Russian churches during the whole course of their history. He drew the conclusion that the teaching of S. Thomas about the matter of priestly ordination was a mistake, and that all those who had followed him on this matter

had been led into error. What has been the result? The result has been that the theologians of the Roman communion have now with almost complete unanimity deserted the scholastic theory still embedded in the rubrics of the Pontifical, and they adhere to the teaching of the Primitive Church, which, in accordance with Holy Scripture, regarded the laying on of hands as the essential matter of priestly ordination [1]. As soon as the teaching of the Primitive Church had been made clear, and had been duly weighed, the theologians of the Roman communion made no difficulty about giving up an opinion which had dominated throughout their communion during the later middle ages. Although they regarded their communion as constituting the whole Catholic Church, they did not feel themselves bound to uphold a theory which had taken possession of that communion in later times, when it had been made evident that it contradicted the apostolical tradition [2].

[1] For the sake of lucidity I have used the Aristotelian terminology of the later schoolmen in order to set forth the primitive teaching.

[2] Similar remarks might be made as to the variations of teaching in the Roman communion in regard to the *Form* of Ordination. In the early Church the Form was of a precatory character. In the later middle ages the

It is clear, therefore, that, according to the judgement of the great majority of the theologians of the Roman communion, the attribute of irreformability is not to be ascribed to theological opinions merely because they have happened to prevail throughout the Church at some particular epoch. For when once it has been shown that such widely accepted opinions are unsupported by Scripture and Tradition, and in fact contradict the testimony of those two witnesses concerning the contents of God's revelation to His Church, the Roman theologians feel themselves able to set such opinions aside.

I will here refer to the words of Cardinal Franzelin, who, in what he says on the question of apostolicity being a necessary mark of a doctrine of the faith, gathers up the teaching of the whole of the Roman *schola theologorum*. He says—and not only says, but shows with great fullness of learning—that "always and everywhere it has been held in the Church as a principle that the successors of the Apostles

schoolmen taught that the Form must be imperative. Nuñez goes so far as to say that to hold the opposite is manifest heresy. But now that the primitive teaching has been brought to light, all the more learned Roman Catholic divines would agree that a precatory form is sufficient, and some would say that it is essential.

are the guardians of the apostolic doctrine, to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be taken away [1]." Again, he says: "As often as it has been defined that any article of doctrine belongs to the Catholic faith, it has always been understood that such action was altogether the same as defining that that revealed doctrine came to us from the Apostles either in divine Scripture or in unwritten tradition. . . . Hence all investigation of proofs was always reduced to this one thing, namely, whether the doctrine was contained in the Scriptures or in apostolical tradition; and this is clearly demonstrated by the acts of all the councils and by the history of all the definitions of faith. This very principle that nothing can belong to the revelation which is to be believed by Catholic faith, unless it is contained in Scripture or in apostolical tradition, is presupposed by all theologians in their demonstrations, and is also expressly asserted by them [2]." Franzelin refers in proof to S. Thomas, Melchior Canus, Bellarmine, Gregory of Valentia, Suarez, De Lugo, and Benedict XIV [3]. It

[1] Franzelin, *De Divina Traditione*, Th. xxii, edit. 1870, p. 233.

[2] Franzelin, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[3] See also the passages from Latin theologians quoted

may be added that the principle set forth by Franzelin in the above-quoted passage is thoroughly in harmony with the teaching of the best representative divines of the Church of England who have lived since the Reformation, and of the Church of England herself. It is also in harmony with the teaching of the Eastern Church. And one may truly say that it has been the central regulative principle of Catholic theology from the time of the Apostles[1].

Now, I have shown that neither in Holy Scripture nor in the ecclesiastical tradition of the first eight centuries was the Unction of the sick regarded as a rite conveying sanctifying grace *ex opere operato* to those who received it with the proper dispositions. In other words, it was not in those times regarded as a rite of such sort as would bring it within the Tridentine definition of a sacrament. I have also shown that the idea of there being seven sacraments, of which Unc-

by Abp. Laud in the notes to his *Conference with Fisher* (sect. x. capp. v, vi, vii, *Works*, ed. Oxford, 1849, vol. ii. pp. 35 37), and also some of those quoted by Father Ryder, Superior of the Birmingham Oratory, in Note A in the Appendix to his *Idealism in Theology*, ed. 1867, pp. 64-6.

[1] I may perhaps be allowed to refer to Appendix M *on the Principle of Development* in *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, 3rd edit., pp. 424-33.

tion is one, does not make its appearance until about the year 1151. It follows that no amount of agreement between East and West during the last portion of the pre-Reformation period would avail to establish the sacramental character of Unction and the binding authority of the scholastic theory of the septenary number of the sacraments. Those *theses* must be ruled out, because it is certain that they form no part of the apostolical tradition.

I suppose that it is permissible to hope that the day may come when a general council will meet, of such sort that after its close the whole Catholic Church will find itself able to ratify its decisions, and accept it as ecumenical. We may be sure that in such an assembly the fundamental law of the ancient Catholic councils would be followed; and consequently, if the *theses* mentioned above were brought before it, the Holy Scriptures would be well weighed, and the Fathers and councils and liturgies of the early ages of the Church would be carefully scrutinized, and it would be seen that those theories are not apostolical, and are therefore no part of the revelation which God has made to His Church[1]; and

[1] Cardinal Cajetan, in his commentary on the *Summ.*

they would accordingly be rejected, or at any rate be refused conciliar sanction. To such a council, if our Lord permits such an one to be held before His Return, we of the English Church have for more than three centuries and a half appealed[1], and to such

*Theol.* of S. Thomas ($2^{da}$ $2^{dae}$, qu. i. art. vii. ad $4^{m}$, S. Thom. Aquin. *Opp. Omnia*, ed. Rom. 1895, tom. viii. p. 20), speaking of S. Thomas's teaching about the "profectus fidei" in his reply in the seventh article *ad* $4^{m}$, says: "Adverte quod ex alia ratione quam praecedente Auctor terminum ponit profectui fidei, scilicet ex consummatione gratiae per Christum et temporis plentitudine. Ex quo habes praeposterum ordinem ante et post Christum: scilicet quod ante Christum, quanto priores tanto minus edocti; post Christum vero, quanto priores tanto doctiores. Et propterea in determinatione quaestionum fidei standum est doctrinae antiquorum Doctorum et sanctorum Patrum, quos illustratos credimus divino lumine et quoad doctrinam et quoad vitam, magis quam posteriorum, ubi discrepant posteriores ab illis." Suarez, in his *Tractat. de Fide Theolog.*, Disp. v. sect. iv. § 4 (*Opp.* ed. Venet. 1742, tom. xi, p. 79), divides ecclesiastical tradition into "*traditio perpetua*" and "*traditio temporalis.*" The former comes to us from the beginning of the Church. The latter is of such a kind that it can be shown to have had its beginning after the Apostles, although we may not be able to determine exactly when it began. This *traditio temporalis* "quia cum non sit universalis in tempore, non potest per se facere fidem catholicam, *quae debet esse tempore Universalis.*"

[1] It may be well to quote here one comparatively recent explicit renewal of this appeal. The Synod of Exeter, held in June, 1851, in the closing paragraph

a council we appeal still. But if it forms no part of our Lord's plan that such a council should be held, then we must humbly yet confidently leave our cause in His hands, praying Him in His own way to manifest His recognition of the fact that, amid much infirmity and imperfection, yet still in substantial loyalty to His truth, we have in these matters guarded the good deposit entrusted to us.

of its third Declaration said :— "And we further declare, in respect of this and other differences, which unhappily, during 300 years, have divided the Churches of the West, that we desire to renew the appeal, under which we and our Fathers have so long continued, to a lawful and free Council of the whole Church, whenever such Council may be had, commending our cause, in the meanwhile, under Him who will come to be our Judge, to the earnest prayers and to the enlightened and impartial inquiries of all good Christian people." *Acts of the Synod of Exeter*, p. 45 : London. 1851 . See also the concluding portion of Mr. Keble's article on *The Synod of Exeter* in the *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xxii. pp. 512-516. Mr. Keble says on p. 515 : —"*Under appeal* and *doing penance* ; -that is the English Church's place in the Kingdom of Heaven : we are not saying it of her as in comparison with other Churches, but positively : whatever other Churches are, such, we firmly believe, is our place."

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Three Minor Objections.

I now pass to the consideration of three additional objections to the conclusion at which we have arrived, objections which I have seen in books, or which have been propounded to me in conversation, but which may, I hope, be dispatched without the need of any protracted argument.

1. It has been urged that, considering the overpowering importance of the act of dying, it would be *a priori* probable that our Lord would institute a special sacrament for the strengthening and comforting of His children, when they find themselves *in articulo mortis*.

To an argument of that sort I answer, that it is quite impossible to allow sacraments unwarranted by Scripture and tradition to be invented and established on an *a priori* basis of that kind. There would be no end to the possible additions to the faith, which might be made by subtle minds, if such modes of proof were for a moment tolerated. Sacra-

ments, in the restricted sense of that word, are positive institutions of the New Covenant, conveying to those who receive them with the proper dispositions the fruits of our Lord's sacrifice. New sacraments of this sort cannot be created by the Church. As Pope Benedict XIV truly says, "The authority of the Church is not extensive enough to institute a new sacrament[1]." God alone can institute sacraments conveying sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*; and He has assuredly made known to the Church and to us all the sacraments of that kind which He has seen fit to institute, through the Apostles and Evangelists and inspired writers whom He commissioned to be His organs for the promulgation of His New Covenant with His elect people. It would be the height of presumption to attempt to improve God's work by patching it with *a priori* fancies of our own.

[1] Cf. Ben. xiv, *De Syn. Dioec.* viii. ix. 6. Compare also S. Thom. Aquin. *in* 4 *Sentent.* dist. xvii. quaest. iii. art. i. quaestiunc. v. sol. v, et *in supplem.* 3 *part. Summ. Theol.* quaest. vi. art. vi, who says: "Quia Ecclesia fundatur in fide et sacramentis, ideo ad ministros Ecclesiae nec novos articulos fidei edere, aut editos removere, *aut nova sacramenta instituere*, aut instituta removere pertinet; *sed hoc est potestatis excellentiae, quae soli debetur Christo, qui est Ecclesiae fundamentum.*" And see Suarez (*De Poenitentia*, disp. xii. sect. ii, *Opp.* ed. Venet. 1748, tom. xix. p. 123).

But I say further that God has provided His children, when they are dying, with all and more than all that they could have desired or imagined in the way of sacramental help. He has provided for them the cleansing virtue of the Precious Blood, which is ready to be imparted to them in Absolution; and He gives to them the Body and Blood of our Lord Himself with all the plenitude of His grace in the Holy Eucharist. No one has ever supposed that Unction could convey any sanctifying grace which is not covered by the gifts bestowed in Absolution and the Holy Eucharist.

The two remaining objections to my *thesis*, to which I shall allude, are really objections to the notion that *any* gift of physical healing is promised in connexion with the Unction of the sick. I might set both of these objections aside by merely recalling the fact that the one point connected with this subject, on which all parts of the Church in all the ages of her history are agreed, is the fact that the passage in S. James undoubtedly implies that at any rate one purpose of the anointing, there spoken of, is the imparting of the gift of physical healing. The existence of a unanimous tradition in Christendom

as to the meaning of a passage in Scripture is not a matter of common occurrence; and I cannot at present imagine a case in which it would be right to set such a tradition aside. However, having made that general remark, I will consider the two objections in succession, on their own merits.

2. The objection has been raised that, if we understand S. James's words σώσει and ἐγερεῖ, or either of them, to refer to physical healing, we appear to attribute to him an absolute promise that the sick man will recover; and the objector usually goes on to urge that it is impossible to suppose that an ordinance could be instituted by God which would insure to all who receive it immunity for the time from death; and he not improbably adds that experience does not confirm the idea that all sick persons who are anointed do in fact recover. But the whole of this objection is based on misapprehension. It overlooks the fact that God's promises are expressed continually in Holy Scripture in an absolute form, without any explicit statement, in the immediate context, of the conditions which limit the promise. Those conditions must be learnt either from the nature of things or from other passages of the Bible. Thus we

read that our Lord said: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for *every one* that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened[1]." And again, our Lord said: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son[2]." And again: "If ye abide in Me, and My words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you[3]." And again: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye shall ask anything of the Father, He will give it you in My Name[4]." And again we read: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: in My Name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover[5]." One might go on almost *ad infinitum*. The objection implies an extraordinarily crude and wooden and undiscerning method of interpreting Holy Scripture.

[1] S. Matt. vii. 7, 8. [2] S. John xiv. 13.
[3] S. John. xv. 7. [4] S. John xvi. 23.
[5] S. Mark xvi. 17, 18.

3. The only other objection to which I shall refer, is the objection that we cannot suppose that all presbyters have the gift or χάρισμα of healing; and that, if S. James's words are to be understood of physical healing, the possession of the χάρισμα of healing by all presbyters is implied. For myself, I think that S. James's statement may be explained without any introduction of the idea involved in the word χάρισμα. But, accepting for the sake of argument the objector's view of what would be implied in the Apostle's words, I would point out that the successful exercise of the χάρισμα of healing has no doubt its conditions and limitations. It is not to be supposed that the Apostles and other primitive Christians, who were endowed with the χάρισμα of healing, could universally ward off death from their friends and acquaintance. Doubtless the exercise of any such χάρισμα is ordinarily conditioned by the existence of faith in the gift within the heart of him who possesses it, and also within the heart of the sick person, as well as by other conditions, which I shall not attempt to define or even enumerate. But the connexion of the χάρισμα of healing with ministerial office is emphasized in the liturgies. There is a prayer that

God would bestow the χάρισμα of healing on the person who is being ordained, in the forms for ordaining bishops and priests in the Canons of Hippolytus[1] and in the Nestorian[2] and Armenian[3] Ordinals, and also in the form for ordaining priests in the Apostolical Constitutions[4], and in the form for ordaining bishops in the Syrian Jacobite Ordinal[5]; and there is a clause in the form for consecrating bishops in the Roman Pontifical[6], which runs thus: "Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis in verbo, et in

[1] Cf. *Can. Hippol.* c. iii. § 18 (edit. Achelis, p. 46), and compare c. xxiv. § 200 (Achelis, p. 117). Duchesne, commenting on these canons (*Bulletin Critique*, xii. 43), says: "L'évêque n'est pas seulement l'élu de la communauté, et en principe le plus saint de ses membres; c'est encore l'exorciste en chef; il y a le plus grand intérêt, pour les malades, à recevoir sa visite: elle guérit, tout comme l'ombre de saint Pierre."

[2] Cf. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, tom. ii. pp. 236, 243; and see p. 145.

[3] Cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.* tom. ii. pp. 309, 362.

[4] Cf. *Apostol. Constit.* lib. viii. cap. 16 (Coleti, tom. i. col. 488). In the *Test. Dom.* there is no explicit allusion to the gift of healing in the formula for ordaining presbyters (i. 30); but in the preceding chapter (i. 29) it is said: "Let a presbyter be ordained . . . if in all things he be pious, quiet, so that being [thus] he may . . . be counted worthy of the gift of healing."

[5] Cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 97.

[6] *Pontifical. Rom.*, ed. Mechlin., 1873, part. i. p. 103.

factis, *in virtute signorum et prodigiorum.*" Moreover all priests of the Latin Church, or nearly all, have at an early stage in their clerical career been admitted to the minor order of Exorcists; and in the Roman Pontifical in the form for ordaining Exorcists occurs the petition that the ordinand may be "a physician of God's Church, worthy of approval, confirmed by the possession of the grace of healing (*gratia curationum*) and of heavenly power[1]." If the χάισμα of healing belongs to the gift imparted in Ordination, there is no necessity for it to be explicitly mentioned by the bishop, when he ordains; but the fact that it is mentioned in some Ordinals bears witness to a widespread belief in the connexion between the χάρισμα and the ministerial office, a belief in which I am inclined to share[2].

[1] *Op. cit.*, part. i. p. 28.

[2] It would appear that this belief is also shared by some influential members of our own hierarchy here in England. Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, in his *Teaching of the Church of England on some points of Religion, set forth for the Information of Orthodox Christians in the East* (2nd edit. revised, 1901, p. 19), when, in his discussion of the Sacraments, he has to tell the Easterns what the Church of England practises and teaches in connexion with matters which in their minds would suggest the Mystery of the Prayer-oil, writes as follows: 'It [i.e.

Altogether, the objection seems to me to fall to the ground, even when the objector's view of what would be implied in S. James's words is accepted; because the objection is based on the supposition that the χάρισμα of healing cannot belong to priests as such; whereas it probably does belong to them as being ordained servants of God and of His Church, and in consequence commissioned to exercise regularly in appointed ways a χάρισμα which is imparted not only to some individual believers, but also to the Church in her corporate capacity [1].

the Church of England] provides a special office for the Visitation of the Sick, with prayers for the sick man's recovery, and it enjoins upon its bishops in particular to 'heal the sick.'" This book was officially "approved" by Archbishop Temple of Canterbury. On p. 3 is written in reference to the whole book: "Approved. F. Cantuar, June 27, 1900." The words "heal the sick" occur in the Form or Service for the Consecration of Bishops. They form part of the charge which the consecrating Archbishop gives to the newly consecrated Bishop when he delivers to him the Bible. They are obviously taken from our Lord's charge to His Apostles (S. Matt. x. 8). I call attention to these words of the Bishop of Salisbury, approved by the late Primate, as proving the statement made in the first sentence of this note.

[1] In confirmation of the principle laid down in the text, I would call attention to an important passage in Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury's *Ministry of Grace* (edit. 1901, pp. 149, 150). In that passage, having shown that

If any one, after reading the argument set forth in the two preceding paragraphs, still thinks that it is unlikely that S. James could have meant to imply that all presbyters have received, as presbyters, the χάρισμα of healing. I would further point out that, even so, it does not follow that we must set aside the obvious interpretation of S. James's words, according to which he enjoins that the sick should be prayed over and anointed with a view to their being restored to physical health.

S. James certainly believed in the propriety of praying under certain circumstances for temporal objects, and he believed in the impetrative force of such prayers. In the very next verse of the chapter[1] he declares that

the charismatic ministry existed for a time side by side with the settled ministry, and afterwards, as a separate ministry, passed away, he goes on to point out that "it remains in the background as a possibility, which may emerge at any time into activity; and indeed," he says, "in various forms it is constantly emerging." He goes on to show how "in particular" it emerges in certain ways in the case of the episcopate. I have tried to show in the text, and throughout this treatise, that the Church has all along believed that it also emerges in other ways in the presbyterate as well as in the episcopate; and some churches hold that it emerges even in a minor order such as is the order of exorcists.

[1] S. James v. 17.

"the supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working," and he corroborates his statement by referring to the case of Elijah, who prayed for certain temporal objects—namely, first for a protracted drought, and then for rain—and obtained from God the things for which he prayed. And the Church in all ages has prayed for God's interposition in things of a temporal character. When S. Peter was in prison, "prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him [1]," and S. Peter was delivered. So S. Paul trusted that through Philemon's prayers [2] he would be able to go to Colossae and pay Philemon a visit. Our own Prayer-book will supply many instances of such prayers, if instances are needed. Prayer, therefore, for the recovery of sick persons, accompanied, in accordance with apostolic injunction, with the rite of anointing the sick in the Name of the Lord, will certainly be acceptable to God, if offered in faith and love, and will, we may be sure, be often rewarded by the healing of the sickness. But such answers to prayer in no way imply that those who offer the prayers are *necessarily* endowed with the χάρισμα of healing or with any other *gratia*

[1] Acts xii. 5. [2] Philemon, 22.

*gratis data*. The power of prayer is a fact of universal experience among believers, and extends far beyond the circle of charismatic persons.

It seems to me, therefore, that, whatever view is taken about the probability of S. James's acceptance of the theory that all presbyters, as such, are endowed with the χάρισμα of healing, this third objection to his words being understood of physical healing is wholly without force.

## CHAPTER IX.

### On the Desirability of Reviving in the Church of England at the Present Time the Use of the Primitive Rite of Anointing the Sick.

I hope that I have now cleared the ground. I have shown what the Unction of the sick was in the apostolic age, and during the first seven or eight centuries of the Church's life. I have shown how, probably during the reigns of Charles the Great and his immediate successors, there grew up in the West and, at some time between the age of Justinian and the age of Charles, in the East, a belief that the Unction conferred not only physical healing but also the remission of sins. I have shown that this new opinion can get no support from the teaching of S. James, and that the fact of its novelty is the proof of its unsoundness. The compilers of the English Prayer-book were therefore well advised when they excluded from our services any form for the administration of

the sacrament of Unction, as it was understood and practised in the later Middle Ages. They rightly regarded such administration as being the result of "the corrupt following of the Apostles[1]"; and it is quite probable that, considering the circumstances of the time, they could not with wisdom have restored the Unction of the sick, as it was used and enjoined by S. James.

But the question which we have to consider is whether a revival of the apostolic and primitive Unction could not be wisely and advantageously taken in hand now. There stands the precept in S. James's Epistle, an epistle which we venerate as having God for its ultimate Author. The precept is perfectly clear. It bids the sick members of the Church to send for the presbyters, and it tells the presbyters exactly what they are to do, when they reach the bed-chamber of the sick man. There is no suggestion that the precept is of limited application only; that, for example, it was intended to be in force for only a short period, during which the χάρισμα of healing would be bestowed on the Church and on certain of its members. The very fact that S. James's

[1] See Article xxv.

injunction occurs in a series of precepts, of which all the remaining precepts are evidently intended to be of permanent validity, makes it probable that the χάρισμα of healing was to last on in the Church until our Lord's return. Certainly the early Church was wholly unconscious of any withdrawal of the χάρισμα. It has been shown in an earlier chapter[1] that the ecclesiastical writers of the first seven or eight centuries refer not infrequently to cases of supernatural healing, as having occurred in the times about which they are writing, and sometimes as having occurred in their presence. These accounts are corroborated by some forms for Ordination, and by all the remaining forms for consecrating the oil of the sick. Making every allowance for exaggerations and mistakes, I find myself wholly unable to set aside the evidence *en bloc*. Besides, it is confirmed by what is happening at the present day. I have heard of very remarkable recoveries which have followed on the administration of Unction to the sick, by priests belonging to our own branch of the Church; and this is the more remarkable because, unless I am mistaken, the custom of anointing has not been

[1] See Chapter iv, pp. 150–88.

revived on any large scale, either in England or in the Anglican communion generally.

For myself, I hardly see how, in the face of S. James's precept, it would be possible for a priest to refuse to anoint a sick member of his flock, who should send for him, and on the strength of the scriptural warrant, should request him to administer Unction in the name of the Lord, accompanying it with earnest prayer that recovery might be granted [1]. Apostolic precepts recorded in Scripture, which have been continuously observed in the Church from the beginning, have a good *prima facie* claim to be regarded as binding *iure divino*. To many persons they would seem to be at least as authoritative *in foro conscientiae* as the rubrics of the Prayer-book or the canons of the Province. It seems hardly conceivable that any Christian bishop could be found, who should be bold enough to prohibit obedience to the Apostle.

I have not the smallest sympathy with rebellious persons who pick and choose some stray branch out of the tangled forest of the mediaeval canon law, and under its shelter

[1] Compare the excellent remarks of the late Mr. Scudamore in the second edition of his *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 1002, 1003.

refuse obedience to the voice of the Church speaking through her living representatives in the diocese or province. Apostolic precepts, however, which have been continuously observed, are not to be compared with obsolete canons or with *dicta* culled from the decretals or the extravagants.

But, while I wholly deny that the administration of the Anointing prescribed by S. James can be legitimately prohibited by any bishop or by any group of bishops, I most willingly admit, or rather I assert, the right of the episcopate to regulate the way in which the apostolic injunction shall be obeyed. It is for the bishops to determine whether they will reserve to themselves the consecration of the oil, or whether they will leave that function to the priests [1]. And if they adopt the former

[1] In the East the consecration of the *Oleum Infirmorum* seems never to have been reserved to the bishop. Normally fresh oil was consecrated on each fresh occasion, when a sick person was to be anointed; and the same custom prevails in the East still. On the other hand, at Rome, at any rate since the fourth century, the consecration of the oil for the sick has been reserved to the bishop, who on Maundy Thursday consecrates enough oil to supply all the parishes of his diocese for a year. But it was only gradually that this Roman rule was accepted in other parts of the West. At Milan it was the custom, until at least the middle of the eleventh

course, it is for them to say whether the reservation shall be absolute, or whether the duty of consecrating the oil may under certain circumstances be delegated to the priest. Similarly the bishops may obviously, if they choose, enjoin the use of duly sanctioned prayers to be recited by the priest on the occasion of the Anointing, and may determine whether it shall or shall not be lawful for him to supplement those prayers by other prayers composed by himself, or extemporized at the bed-side of the sick person.

Once more, it would seem to be not only the right of the bishops but also their duty to secure that the Unction is administered for only such purposes as have the warrant of Scripture and tradition, and to guard so holy a ministration from all superstition and abuse.

Other disciplinary points connected with the Unction of the sick and needing regulation might be mentioned; but there is no need to pursue that side of the matter here and now. It will, I think, be more useful to revert to the general question of the de-

century, for priests to consecrate the oil; and they might do so as often as they liked. See Dr. Marco Magistretti's *Pontificale in usum Eccl. Mediolan.*, p. 95.

sirability of reviving the use of Unction at the present time.

Apart from the obligation of obeying the Scriptural precept there are, I think, certain reasons which make it specially desirable that the usage of Anointing the sick should be authoritatively revived at the present time.

I am afraid that it must be admitted that, during the last fifty years, there has been among the generality of professing Christians a distinct weakening of belief in the power of prayer, and more especially in the power of prayer for temporal blessings. But the power of prayer and the rightfulness of prayer for temporal blessings constitute a very fundamental part of the practical teaching of the Christian religion. And I do not doubt that the revival of the practice of Anointing the sick with a view to their recovery would, if it so please God, stir people up to pray, and would protect the Christian teaching about the power of prayer. The needs of human nature were, all of them, known to the Son of God who created human nature, and who assumed it by becoming incarnate. And no doubt He saw that it was desirable not only that men should be taught to pray

for the recovery of the sick, but also that an external rite, such as Anointing, should be instituted, which might stimulate prayer by gathering it up into a focus, and might provide an occasion which would draw forth prayers from hearts unaccustomed to the spiritual effort which that exercise involves. And we may well believe that, when our Lord guided S. James to enjoin the use of Unction in his Epistle, He foresaw that it would be well that this rite, which tends to stimulate prayer, should be connected with times of sickness, because at such times the hearts of the sick persons and also the hearts of their relations and friends are often very specially open to religious impressions. It seems therefore that the revival of the practice of Anointing the sick would tend to provide a remedy for one of the spiritual maladies of the present time.

Another reason for the revival of Unction at the present time seems to arise from the danger of the practice being revived in a wrong way, if the Church does not revive it in a right way. It is a commonplace remark that, whenever the Church neglects any aspect of truth or of divinely revealed practice, her negligence is punished in time

by some new sect appearing, which emphasizes and usually exaggerates and distorts the point which the Church has allowed to fall into the background. At the present time the practice of anointing the sick is, I believe, made very prominent by a sect which calls itself "the Peculiar People," and by other persons of various denominations who are known as "Faith-healers." In dealing with these people, those who represent the Church will no doubt find themselves much hampered when they attempt to correct exaggerations and mistakes in connexion with the Unction of the sick, by the feeling that their arguments lie open to the effective retort: It is not for you to set us right in this matter, for whether we are right or wrong in some of the details of our teaching about Unction, we at any rate try to carry out to the best of our power the precept of Christ's Apostle; but the Church, to which you belong, neglects it altogether.

We are open to a similar retort on the part of Romanists; and the neglect of Unction by the Church of England is continually emphasized by the controversialists of the Roman communion for the purpose of suggesting doubts about their position to the minds of

Anglicans who have not been taught to realize the baseless character of the Roman claims.

And again, some of our own clergy, seeing the plain injunction about Unction in the pages of their New Testament, jump hastily to the conclusion that the Roman teaching and practice in regard to Unction is right; and seek to revive the use of Unction as a channel of sanctifying grace, believing that grace is imparted sacramentally through the oil as a preparation for death. That mistake is likely to grow if it is not taken in hand. And the authorities of the Church will find it very difficult to suppress the erroneous interpretation of the Jacobean passage, unless they themselves do full justice, in practice as well as in theory, to the primitive, and patristic, and Catholic interpretation of the Apostle's teaching.

As the outcome of these considerations, I may be asked: What definite proposal are you prepared to make? My reply to that remark would be, that it does not become me, who am a simple priest without cure of souls, and without any share in the government and administration of the Church, to formulate definite proposals of a detailed character.

I must content myself with stating some of the things which I do not want, and indicating what I do want in very general terms.

Under the present circumstances of the Church of England I do not want the clergy to be compelled, in any legal way, to administer Unction, nor the people to be compelled, either legally or morally, to receive it. I should wish that the bishops and the inferior clergy would call attention to the teaching of S. James, and would explain its true meaning. That would in a very short time create a desire for the revival of the apostolic and primitive use of Unction. But I should prefer that the initiative should be taken by the bishops either collectively or individually. The bishops are the natural leaders of the Church, and the whole Church would be fired with encouragement and hope, if the chief shepherds were more frequently seen in the van leading the flock. Besides, this is a matter which eminently needs episcopal regulation if it is to be kept on right lines.

I have no desire that the bishops should sanction the use of the prayer appointed in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI to be said over the sick person if he desire to be

anointed [1]. Possibly parts of that prayer might be worked up into another prayer, and so utilized with advantage; but, as it stands, the Edwardine prayer is based on mediaeval rather than apostolic and primitive teaching. It would be much better that new prayers should be compiled for consecrating the oil and for administering the Unction. And the compilers would do well to study the ancient forms for consecrating the oil in the Ethiopic Church Order, the Verona fragments, Serapion's Sacramentary, the Apostolical Constitutions, the Gregorian Sacramentary, and in the mediaeval Ambrosian *Rituale*, and the more modern form used by the Non-jurors [2], and also the form for blessing *Oleum Simplex* in the *Rituale Romanum* [3]; and they should also study the formula to be used during the Unction in the two *Ordines* which Martene took from MSS. preserved in his time at St. Gatian's church in Tours [4]. It would be

[1] For the wording of the Edwardine prayer, see pp. 343, 344, below.

[2] The form for blessing the *Oleum Infirmorum* used by the Non-jurors will be found below, in Appendix J, on pp. 344, 345.

[3] The Roman form for blessing *Oleum Simplex* will be found in the same Appendix, on pp. 340–2.

[4] The Tours formula of administration will be found below, in Appendix I, pp. 330, 331, note 2. In the various

well, in my opinion, to embody a reference to the Jacobean passage both in the form for consecration and in the form to be recited during the administration. If the bishops normally reserve to themselves the consecration of the oil, the two forms will not as a rule be used together. It might well be arranged that the administration of the Unction should be preceded by the offering up of some devout prayers for the recovery of the sick person, always in submission to the holy will of God. Having regard to the long continued existence and widespread dissemination of mediaeval errors in regard to the effect of Unction, it would be desirable, I think, that there should be no petitions for sanctifying graces in any of the prayers sanctioned for use, either during the Anointing itself or by way of immediate preparation for it. It is, no doubt, highly desirable that such petitions should be offered by the bed-side of the sick person; but there are plenty of them provided in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, and it would be best, as it seems to me, to

Orders for administering Unction, printed by Martene, are preserved a number of prayers for healing body and mind, which are worthy of study (see Martene, *de Antiquis Eccl. Ritt.*, edit. 1736, tom. i. coll. 841-982).

exclude them from the prayers used in connexion with the Unction.

Here I bring this dissertation to an end; and I most humbly pray God to bless what I have written, so that it may tend to His glory, the good of His Church, and the edifying of believers. If there be any word or sentence in this book which is out of harmony with the truth and with the mind of Christ, may all evil effects which might naturally result therefrom be averted, and may our Lord in His goodness pardon my ignorance and give me fuller light.

# APPENDIX I.

## Liturgical Forms connected with the Oleum Infirmorum.

I propose to print in this Appendix some ancient Greek and Latin forms, and also two English forms for blessing or for administering the oil of the sick. I shall not print any forms in Syriac or Ethiopic. To do so would add very much to the expense of bringing out this book; and the number of readers capable of understanding such forms would be very small. From considerations of space, I shall also refrain from printing the longer mediaeval Greek and Latin forms for administering Unction. In all cases where the forms are not printed references to books where they may be found will be given.

The following are the forms with which, in one way or the other, I propose to deal in this Appendix.

1. The form for blessing the oil in the Ethiopic Church Order (see p. 315).

2. The form for blessing the oil in Hauler's Verona Fragments (see p. 315).

3 and 4. The two forms for blessing the oil in the Sacramentary of S. Serapion (see pp. 315–7).

5. The form for blessing the oil in the Apostolical Constitutions (see pp. 317, 318).

6. The form for blessing the oil in the *Testamentum Domini* (see p. 318).

7. The form for blessing the oil in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries (see p. 319).

8. A translation of the Nestorian or East Syrian form for blessing the oil (see pp. 320, 321).

9. A translation of the Syro-Jacobite form for blessing the oil, which serves both for the catechumens and for the sick (see pp. 321–3).

10 and 11. Two Milanese forms for blessing the oil (see pp. 323–6).

12, 13 and 14. Three Irish forms for administering the oil (see pp. 326–32).

15. A Tours form for administering the oil (see pp. 330, 331, note 2).

16. A form for blessing the oil from Leofric's Missal, also preserved by Hittorp and Gerbert (see pp. 332–6).

17. The Constantinopolitan form for blessing and administering the Prayer-oil (see p. 337).

18. The Sarum form for administering Extreme Unction (see p. 337).

19. The Roman form for administering Extreme Unction (see pp. 337–40).

20. The Roman form for blessing *Oleum Simplex* (see pp. 340–3).

21. The form for administering Unction to the sick in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. (see pp. 343, 344).

22. The form for blessing oil for the sick, used by the Non-jurors (see pp. 344, 345).

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Forms 1 and 2. The form for blessing the oil in the Ethiopic Church Order, and the similar form in the Verona Fragments, are based on a lost Greek form which must date from at least the beginning of the fourth century, though it may have been composed at a considerably earlier date. On pp. 104, 105, above, an English translation of the Ethiopic version of this form and the ancient Latin version of it, preserved in the Verona Fragments, are printed in parallel columns.

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Form 3. Here follows the Greek text of the form for blessing "the oils and waters that are being offered[1]," which occurs just before the final blessing at the end of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Sacramentary of S. Serapion. The formula was probably composed about the middle of the fourth century in Lower Egypt:

Εὐχὴ περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἐλαίων καὶ ὑδάτων.

Εὐλογοῦμεν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ μονογενοῦ⟨ς⟩ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ κτίσμα⟨τα⟩ ταῦτα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παθόντος ὀνομάζομεν, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ καθεζομένου ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ἔλαιον τοῦτο· χάρισαι

[1] An English translation of the prayer will be found above, on pp. 80, 81.

*δύναμιν θεραπευτικὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα, ὅπως πᾶς πυρετὸς καὶ πᾶν δαιμόνιον καὶ πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῇ, καὶ γένηται φάρμακον θεραπευτικὸν καὶ φάρμακον ὁλοκληρίας ἡ τῶν κτισμάτων τούτων μετάληψις ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μονογενοῦ⟨ς⟩ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν*[1].

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Form 4. I print here the Greek text of another form for blessing oil or bread or water for the sick, which is also included in the Sacramentary of S. Serapion. Apparently it was to be used in the presence of the sick person, when he was visited by a priest[2]. An English translation of the prayer will be found above, on pp. 88, 89. I follow the Greek text published by Mr. Brightman in the *J. T. S.* (vol. i. pp. 267, 268):

*Εὐχὴ εἰς Ἔλαιον νοσούντων ἢ εἰς ἄρτον ἢ εἰς ὕδωρ.*

*Ἐπικαλούμεθα σὲ τὸν ἔχοντα πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν τὸν σωτῆρα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ δεόμεθα ὥστε ἐκπέμψαι δύναμιν ἰατικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦτο, ἵνα γένηται τοῖς χριομένοις (ἢ μεταλαμβάνουσιν τῶν κτισμάτων σου τούτων) εἰς ἀποβολὴν πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης*

[1] I take the text of this prayer from Mr. Brightman's edition of the Sacramentary. See *J. T. S.* vol. i. p. 108.

[2] The oil or water blessed in the Eucharistic Liturgy according to Form 3 was intended to be used by the faithful, who administered the oil or water to themselves or to their friends in times of sickness.

μαλακίας, εἰς ἀλεξιφάρμακον παντὸς δαιμονίου, εἰς ἐκχωρισμὸν παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου, εἰς ἀφορισμὸν παντὸς πνεύματος πονηροῦ, εἰς ἐκδιωγμὸν παντὸς πυρετοῦ καὶ ῥίγους καὶ πάσης ἀσθενείας, [εἰς χάριν ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων.[1]] εἰς φάρμακον ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας, εἰς ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν ψυχῆς σώματος πνεύματος, εἰς ῥῶσιν τελείαν. φοβηθήτω δέσποτα πᾶσα ἐνέργεια σατανική, πᾶν δαιμόνιον, πᾶσα ἐπιβουλὴ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, πᾶτα πληγή, πᾶσα μάστιξ, πᾶσα ἀλγηδών, πᾶς πόνος ἢ ῥάπισμα ἢ ἐντίναγμα ἢ σκίασμα πονηρὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἐπεκαλεσάμεθα νῦν ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς, καὶ ἀπερχέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς ⟨καὶ⟩ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν δούλων σου τούτων· ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σταυρωθέντος καὶ ἀναστάντος τοῦ τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀσθενείας ἀναλαβόντος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐρχομένου κρῖναι ζωντας καὶ νεκρούς· ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

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Form 5. Here follows the Greek text of the thanksgiving over water and oil contained in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions (cap. 29). I follow the text published by Cardinal Pitra[2]. The eighth book is usually dated *circa* 375. It was probably compiled in Northern Syria. There is a preliminary

[1] I have bracketed this clause, believing it to be an interpolation for the reasons given above, on pp. 90-100.

[2] Pitr. *Iur. Eccl. Graec. Hist. et Mon.*, ed. Rom., 1864, tom. i. p. 62. An English translation is printed above, on pp. 84, 85.

rubric which, together with the thanksgiving, is attributed, according to the fiction used by the compiler, to S. Matthias.

Περὶ δὲ ὕδατος καὶ ἐλαίου ἐγὼ Ματθίας διατάσσομαι. Εὐλογείτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὸ ὕδωρ, ἢ τὸ ἔλαιον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, εὐλογείτω ὁ πρεσβύτερος, παρεστῶτος τοῦ διακόνου. Ἐπὰν δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος παρῇ, παριστάσθω ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ διάκονος· λεγέτω δὲ οὕτως·

Εὐχαριστία περὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἐλαίου.

Κύριε Σαβαὼθ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ χορηγὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου, οἰκτιρμον καὶ φιλάνθρωπε, ὁ δοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς πόσιν καὶ κάθαρσιν, καὶ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἱλαρῦναι πρόσωπον εἰς ἀγαλλίαμα εὐφροσύνης· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν διὰ Χριστοῦ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ προσκομίσαντος, ἢ τῆς προσκομισάσης, καὶ δὸς δύναμιν ὑγιείας ἐμποιητικήν, νόσων ἀπελαστικήν, δαιμόνων φυγαδευτικήν, πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς διωκτικήν, διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

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Form 6. The original Greek of the form for blessing the oil in the *Testamentum Domini* (*circa* 400) is lost. A Syriac version made in 687 is still extant. An English translation, made from the Syriac, is printed above, on pp. 113, 114. The *Testamentum Domini* is commonly supposed to have been put together in Asia Minor.

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FORM 7. I print here in the text the Gelasian form for blessing the *Oleum Infirmorum*. I give the text as it is printed in Mr. Wilson's edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary [1]. In the lower margin I note the readings of Muratori's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary [2], whenever the Gregorian readings vary substantially from the Gelasian. An English translation of the Gregorian form is printed above, on pp. 124, 125.

"Emitte, quaesumus, Domine, Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum de caelis *in hac pinguedine olei* [3] quam de viridi ligno producere dignatus es ad refectionem *mentis et* [4] corporis. *Et tua sancta benedictio* [5] sit omni *unguenti, gustanti, tangenti* [6], tutamentum *corporis, animae et spiritus* [7], ad evacuandos omnes dolores, omnem infirmitatem, omnem aegritudinem *mentis et* [8] corporis, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas, et martyres, chrisma tuum perfectum, a te, Domine, benedictum, *permanens in visceribus nostris* [9], in nomine Domini nostri IESU Christi. Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, &c."

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[1] *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 70.
[2] *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. ii. col. 55, ed. 1748.
[3] Greg. reads "in hanc pinguedinem olivae."
[4] Greg. omits "mentis et."
[5] Greg. reads "ut tua sancta benedictione."
[6] Greg. reads "unguenti tangenti."
[7] Greg. reads "mentis et corporis."
[8] Greg. omits "mentis et."
[9] Greg. omits "permanens in visceribus nostris."

FORM 8. Here follows J. S. Assemani's Latin version of the Syriac formula for consecrating the dust from the tomb or other relics of a Saint, and of mixing this *Hanana* or Grace, as it is called, with either oil or water for anointing or administering to the sick. This formula is to be found in certain liturgical books of the Nestorians or East Syrians. It runs thus[1]:

"'Benedic eam [sc. *Hanana* sive *Gratiam*], Domine Deus fortis, benedictione tua, eamque sanctitate tua santifica et habitare in ea fac dexteram misericordiae tuae et virtutem Spiritus Sancti, et largire ex ea, sumentibus illam, corporis animaeque sanitatem, in nomine gloriosae Trinitatis Patris, &c.' *Et mitte Gratiam* [sc. Hanana] *in oleum et dic*:—'Signatur et sanctificatur et commiscetur hoc oleum cum hac Gratia [sc. Hanana] Sancti talis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti: nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' *Atque hoc eodem modo fac ablutionem.*"

Denzinger, in his *Ritus Orientalium* (tom. ii. p. 518, edit. 1864), has taken over this Latin version of the formula from Assemani[2], and it is from Denzinger's book that I have extracted it. In a note to the word "Ablutionem," Denzinger says: "Hoc est aquam

[1] An English translation of Assemani's Latin version is printed above, on p. 142.

[2] Denzinger refers to Asseman. *Bibl. Orient.* tom. iii. part. ii. p. 277.

benedictam, ad quam tamen non sumitur oleum."

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FORM 9. I print here from Denzinger's *Ritus Orientalium* (tom. ii. pp. 551, 552) a translation of the rubric and of one of the four prayers from the Syrian Jacobite Order for blessing the oil which is to serve for the Unction of catechumens and also for the Unction of the sick. This Order, as it seems to me, throws considerable light on the form for blessing the oil in the *Testamentum Domini*[1].

**"Benedictio olei catechumenorum apud Syros Jacobitas, quae et olei infirmorum**

(Ex codice 51 Vaticano, olim 4 Echellensi latine vertit R. P. Pius Zingerle, O. S. B. Versio tamen primae rubricae est Assemani in catalogo MS. Collatus est etiam codex 304.)

Orationes super oleum olivae, quod ad unctionem fit.

*Post acoluthiam et officium sacri chrismatis afferunt parum oleum olivae in vase, et apprehendens illud unus presbyterorum affert episcopo, qui dicit orationem super illud, et post episcopum omnes presbyteri, qui adsunt, dicunt similiter orationem et formant signa crucis. Ipsum autem oleum ideo conficitur, ut eo ungantur baptizandi ante chrisma in ipso baptismo; item fit propter sanitatem*

[1] See above, on pp. 122, 123.

*infirmorum iuxta id, quod ait Iacobus, frater Domini: si quis infirmatur, vocet presbyteros, et ungant eum oleo orationis. Similiter in Actibus scriptum est, quod infirmos plurimos ungebant oleo et sanabantur*[1]."

Then follow the four prayers for the benediction of the oil. I print here the last of the four.

"Deus qui in clementia sua ad mortales se inclinavit et humilitatem eorum in misericordia sua visitavit, tu, O Domine, benedictionem tuam vita plenam super hoc oleum mitte, quo servi tui unguntur, fiatque mysterium veritatis spiritibus eorum et sigillum animabus eorum vitaque eorum corporibus, quia occulta divinitatis tuae virtus in eo habitat eorumque corporibus applicatur. Intellectus eorum corroboretur et mens eorum augeatur. Oculi eorum illuminentur, corporaque eorum sanentur, sitque eis vera armatura, in quam non dominetur peccatum, quamque nec iniquitas contaminet, et ex eo et per illud ad sanctum baptisma praeparentur anima integra iustitiae plena, et nativitate spirituali digni evadant atque ad gradum adoptionis filiorum eleventur virtute Trinitatis gloriosae nunc."

[1] This rubric, as will be seen at once, assigns to the Acts a passage which really belongs to the Gospel according to S. Mark. The same mistake was made by Barhebraeus in a passage of his *Nomocanon*, quoted by Denzinger in his *Ritus Orientalium* (tom. i. p. 363). Barhebraeus, in the passage referred to above, mentions that the *Oleum Catechumenorum* was used for the Unction of the sick.

In this prayer, as in the similar prayer in the *Testamentum Domini*, God is asked to pour His blessing upon the oil so that, on the one hand it may give life and health to the bodies of the sick, and on the other hand it may prepare the souls of catechumens for holy Baptism[1].

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Form 10. Dr. Magistretti of Milan gives two Milanese forms for the blessing of the *Oleum Infirmorum*[2], taken from a MS. Ambrosian *Rituale* of the fourteenth century (Bibliothec. Capitul. Metropol. Mediolan., sign. H. 62). The second of these two forms is also to be found in a codex of the eleventh century, belonging to the Ambrosian library (cod. Ambr. saec. xi, sign. T. 96, sup. fol. 244). In the first of the two MSS. mentioned above, the forms for blessing the oil immediately precede a service for the Laying on of hands on the sick. It would appear that the forms for blessing the oil might be used by priests, and might be used by them on any day in the year. Dr. Magistretti gives reasons for thinking[3] that the custom of the oil being solemnly blessed by the bishop on Maundy

[1] Denzinger, in a note *Op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 551*, gives reasons for thinking that the Copts have a similar custom of blessing oil which is to serve both for the catechumens and for the sick.

[2] *Pontificale in usum Eccl. Mediolan.*, ed. Magistretti, pp. 100, 110. Dr. Magistretti holds the office of "SS. Caerimoniarum Praefectus" in the metropolitical church of Milan.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 95.

Thursday was not introduced at Milan until the second half of the eleventh century[1]. Up to that time priests had blessed the oil when it was needed, and they probably continued to do so on occasion, at any rate in some places, long after the custom of the Maundy Thursday episcopal consecration of the oil had been established. It may, I think, be reasonably supposed that the two Ambrosian forms given below are really much older than the eleventh century. Here follows the first of these forms

"*Benedictio olei.*"

Deus in adiutorium. Domine &c. Gloria. Aeterne omnipotens Deus, precamur supplices sublimem clementiam, ut hanc creaturam olei ✠ benedicere ✠ sanctificare digneris; ut mittere iubeas Spiritum tuum paraclitum, qui replevit orbem terrarum, super hanc pinguedinem quam de viridi ligno fluere praecepisti: ut si quis ex eo unctus fuerit vel gustaverit, sit ei animae atque corporis firmamentum.

[1] The fact stated in the text may be illustrated by a passage in the *Liber de Sacramentis* of S. Bonizo, who became Bishop of Piacenza in 1089. Speaking of the *Oleum Infirmorum*, S. Bonizo says:—"Hoc omni tempore inter missarum solemnia a presbyteris in eo loco, ubi sic legitur *Per quem haec omnia bona creas*, solebat consecrari. Nunc vero a solis episcopis in eodem loco missae in coena Domini consecratur" (*P. L.* cl. 864). In the time of S. Ambrose and his four immediate successors, until the year 433, or thereabouts, Piacenza had belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Milan. About the year 433 it was subjected to the newly constituted metropolitical jurisdiction of Ravenna. But, doubtless, Milanese customs would for a long time continue in force there.

Depellat valitudines malas, diaboli temptamenta discutiat, invalescentes estus febrium et causam universi doloris avertat: ut fide sanctitatis, vigore concepto, referat Deo Patri omnipotenti gratias sempiternas: Per Dominum."

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Form 11. I print here the second of the two Milanese forms given by Dr. Magistretti:

"Alia oratio: Deus humani generis creator, qui, depulsis cunctis doloribus nostris, salutis medicus extitisti, qui per apostolos tuos vexatorum languoribus gratiam sanitatum praestitisti, te supplices deprecamur: ut super hanc creaturam olei inviolabilis virtutis tuae munus infundas. ✠ Et sanctifica benedictionis tuae munere, et Sancti Spiritus inumbrata virtute. Et quotiescumque fidelium tuorum membris infusa fuerit, confracta solidet, et languentia foveat, ad tactumque hominibus inferat mentis et corporis sanitatem. Per Dominum. *Hic incipit manus impositio...*"

The reader will observe that in the two forms[1] which have been given above, there is no reference to the gift of the remission of sins or to any other sanctifying grace. The

[1] Melchior Hittorpius, in his *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis et Mysteriis* ed. Paris, 1610, col. 70, prints a form which he entitles "*Benedictio olei Ambrosiana, ad unguendum tam infirmos quam energumenos.*" But, as he gives no intimation as to the source from which he took the form, and as Dr. Magistretti has not reprinted it, I refrain from reproducing it here.

oil is to be used for the purpose of restoring health to body and mind, and to dispel diabolical temptations.

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FORMS 12, 13, 14, and 15. There are three Irish forms for administering Unction to the sick which are closely connected together, and may probably all be assigned to the ninth century; though one may perhaps be as late as the tenth century. They are severally preserved in three Irish *codices*, all of them now at Dublin, namely the Book of Mulling, the Book of Dimma, and the Stowe Missal.

The Book of Mulling is kept in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It has for its principal contents a copy of the Vulgate translation of the four Gospels. But on a blank space following the Gospel according to S. Matthew, a later scribe has copied an office for the Visitation, Unction, and Communion of the sick. Professor Lawlor, in his *Chapters on the Book of Mulling* (ed. 1897, p. 15), speaking of the date of the *codex*, says: —"M. Berger, than whom no one is more competent to give judgement, refers it to the ninth, and apparently not to the beginning of the ninth century. Others assign it to a slightly earlier date." The passage quoted from M. Berger has reference to the copy of the Gospels. But on p. 9, Professor Lawlor says that the Office for the Visitation of the Sick was "subsequently written by another scribe." We may, I think, safely

infer that the Office for the sick is not earlier that the ninth century. And with this conclusion Mr. F. E. Warren agrees. Speaking of the Office for the sick, he says that it "is written in a ninth-century hand [1]."

The Book of Dimma is also kept in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (A. 4. 23). It contains the Vulgate translation of the four Gospels. A service for the Visitation, Anointing, and Communion of the sick has been written on a blank space between the Gospels of S. Luke and S. John. Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 190. note) assign it to "the early part of [the] ninth century." M. Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 381), speaks of it as a "Minuscule Irlandaise du ix^e^ siècle." Dr. J. H. Bernard, the Dean of S. Patrick's, writing to me on December 8, 1903, says:— "Some ten years ago I collated the Book of Dimma from end to end, and I have no doubt that it is not earlier than the ninth century."

The manuscript volume which contains the Stowe Missal as well as other matter, is at present deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, where it is classed as D. II. 3, Ashburnham collection. It contains, besides the liturgical matter, a copy of the Vulgate translation of S. John's Gospel. But these two parts of the volume seem to be independent of each other, and to have been at one time bound separately. Speaking

[1] Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 171.

of this volume, M. Berger (*loc. cit.*) says:—"Saint Jean est écrit d'une main qui semble du x^e siècle. Tel paraît être également l'âge du missel." The Missal or Sacramentary contains amongst other things an *Ordo Baptismi*, after which follows, without any separate heading, an Order for the Visitation, Anointing, and Communion of the sick. Dr. Kenyon, of the British Museum, would assign the hands which transcribed the earlier-copied portions of the Missal "to the beginning of the tenth century or possibly the end of the ninth, but not earlier" (see the remarks of Dr. Whitley Stokes and Dr. John Strachan in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. ii. pp. xxvii f.).

In the Book of Mulling the part of the service for the sick which has to do with the Unction seems to begin with a certain *Benedictio hominis* which is taken from the Vulgate translation of Num. vi. 24–6, to which however the important words, "et sanitatem," have been added. The *Benedictio* runs thus:—"Benedicat tibi dominus et custodiat te; illuminet[1] dominus faciem suam super te[2] et misseriatur tui, convertatque[3] dominus vultum suum ad te, et det tibi pacem et sanitatem." "Misserere n. d. a."

[1] An ordinary Clementine Vulgate (Paris, 1851) reads here "ostendat."

[2] The same edition substitutes here "tibi" for "super te."

[3] The same edition omits here "que."

After the *Benedictio hominis* with its added prayer for health, and the response—"Misserere &c.," there follows the rubric—"*Tum unges eum oleo.*" And then is given the formula to be used during the anointing:—"Unguo te de oleo sanctificationis in nomine dei patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, ut salvus eris in nomine sancte trinitatis [1]."

It would appear that the section of the service connected with the Unction here comes to an end. There follow the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The latter is preceded by a *Praefatio* and followed by an *Embolismus*. The service for the Communion of the sick in the Book of Deer shows that the Lord's Prayer with its concomitants belongs to the rite for administering the Holy Communion to the sick person [2].

In the Book of Dimma there is no *Benedictio hominis*, and there is no rubric. The section of the service connected with the Unction appears to be limited to the formula to be used during the anointing. It follows a short form of the Creed, and precedes the Lord's Prayer with its *Praefatio* and *Embolismus*. The formula for anointing runs thus:—"Ungo te de oleo sanctificato in nomine trinitatis, ut salveris in saecula saeculorum [3]."

In the Stowe Missal, as in the Book of Dimma, there is no *Benedictio hominis* and no rubric, but only the formula for anointing, which follows two lections from the Gospel, and

[1] See Warren, *op. cit*, p. 172. [2] Ib. p. 164. [3] Ib. p. 169.

precedes the Lord's Prayer and its concomitants and other prayers connected with the administration of Holy Communion to the sick man. The formula for anointing runs thus:—"Ungo te de oleo sanctificato, ut salveris in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, in saecula[1]."

In the MS. a white line precedes and follows this formula, marking it off from other sections of the service.

The very similar forms for anointing, which have been quoted above from the Book of Dimma and from the Stowe Missal, seem to view the Unction as a channel of grace to the soul. The Unction is administered as an aid to the sick person's eternal salvation—"Ut salveris in saecula saeculorum." Nothing whatever is said about restoration of physical health.

The formula in the Book of Mulling may very easily be understood of restoration to physical health. There is no "in saecula" or "in saecula saeculorum." The idea of physical health was evidently present to the mind of the compiler of the office, because he added the words, "et sanitatem" to the benediction of Num. vi. Moreover, in the Book of Mulling, "salvus eris" takes the place of "salveris[2]." However I do not wish

[1] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[2] Martene gives two Orders for the Visitation and Unction of the sick, which he found in two MSS. belonging to the Church of S. Gatian in Tours, and which were written, as he declares, before the year 900. They

to press these points. It is possible that the formula in the Book of Mulling is to be understood in the same way as the other two. All the three MSS. are of the ninth century or later, and therefore they belong to a period when sacramental Unction had

are interesting, because there are in these Orders no special prayers adapted to the different parts of the body, but one prayer is said by one of the priests present, while the sick man is being anointed in various places by another priest. Moreover in the one prayer, which is said during the anointing, there is no allusion to remission of sins or to any sanctifying grace, but only to restoration of physical health. There are certain expressions in this prayer which seem, notwithstanding its far greater elaboration, to be parallel with expressions in the formula in the Book of Mulling, and to confirm the idea that that formula had for its object the restoration of physical health. The prayer is thus worded: —"Unguo te de oleo sancto in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, obsecrans misericordiam ipsius unius Domini ac Dei nostri, ut fugatis omnibus doloribus vel incommoditatibus corporis tui, recuperetur in te virtus et salus, quatenus per huius operationem mysterii, et per hanc sacrati olei unctionem et nostram deprecationem, virtute sanctae Trinitatis medicatus sive fotus, pristinam et immeliorata recipere merearis sanitatem. Per." Cf. Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* tom. i. coll. 857, 864, ed. 1736.) Two prayers follow, intervening between the Unction and Communion of the sick, in which God is asked to give remission of sins. This is only what might be expected, considering the date at which the Orders were compiled. But the fact that such petitions do not occur during the anointing is much to be observed, and leads me to think that this Tours formula is in its substance of a date anterior to Charles the Great. If so, it is very precious, as, so far as I am aware, we have no Western forms of *administration* of unction earlier than the reign of Charles. All other Western forms connected with the *Oleum Infirmorum*, which are earlier than his reign, are forms of consecration.

been, at any rate in many places, substituted for Jacobean. What is remarkable about two of these forms is that they make no reference at all to the healing of the body. As far as I am aware no other services for administering Unction exist, which make no reference to the healing of the body, unless it be the other Irish formula, the formula of the Book of Mulling, which, as we have seen, speaks with an uncertain voice.

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Form 16. I print here a remarkable form for exorcizing and blessing oil for the sick, which is to be found in Hittorp's book, *De Divinis Cath. Eccl. Officiis* (ed. Paris, 1624, coll. 69, 70). It has also been printed with some variations of reading by Martinus Gerbertus in his *Monumenta Vet. Liturg. Alemannicae* (ed. 1776, vol. i. pp. 76, 77). Unfortunately I have not succeeded in finding out from Hittorp's book the source from which he took this form; but I gather from Gerbert's words[1] that he found the copy of the form, which he used, in the codex now at Zurich, which he describes as "ex triplici ritu Gelasiano, Gregoriano, et Ambrosiano compositus[2]." I have not heard that that MS. has been published, though I

[1] Cf. *Vet. Liturg. Alemannic.*, edit. 1776, vol. ii. p. 742. This is not the same book as the *Monumenta Vet. Liturg. Alemannic.*

[2] See the *Introduction* to the Rev. H. A. Wilson's edition of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. xx.

believe that it has been rediscovered at Zurich within the last ten years. If that Zurich MS. was the source from which Gerbert took this form, it would seem that it must be an Ambrosian form, because it is certainly neither Gelasian nor Gregorian. I have already mentioned that, though the form as printed by Gerbert is substantially the same as the form printed by Hittorp, yet there are some variations of reading. This shows that Hittorp and Gerbert did not use the same MS., and the form must therefore have had some circulation[1].

Hittorp gives the rubrical heading to the benediction as follows[2]:—"Item benedictio olei ad omnem languorem quocunque tempore, et nulla in huius olei benedictione conclusio dicatur, antequam subinferatur—[Per quem haec omnia Domine][3]." The words "quocunque tempore" may be compared with the words "omni tempore" in the passage from S. Bonizo quoted above, in note 1 on p. 324. They make it seem probable to me that the

[1] I am informed by my friend Dr. Wickham Legg that this form is also to be found in a manuscript English Pontifical of the eleventh century, probably later than the conquest, and now in the British Museum Tiberius C. i. . Dr. Legg tells me that "the form occurs in the canon of Maundy Thursday after the blessing of the oil of the sick." But the rubrical heading, as in Hittorp, has the words "quocunque tempore."

[2] In Gerbert the heading is worded thus:—"Exorcismus olei ad omnem languorem quocunque tempore."

[3] I add the words in brackets from Tiberius C. i. so as to complete the sense.

heading was composed in a place where, and at a time when, a solemn consecration of the *Oleum Infirmorum* by the bishop on Maundy Thursday had been recently instituted [1]. The presbyters may have still retained their right to bless oil on any occasion when a necessity for doing so arose. The first words of the form show that it was to be used at the close of the canon of the Mass. The whole form may be compared with the second form for blessing the oil of the sick in Serapion's Sacramentary (pp. 316, 317). There is here as there a long list of illnesses and of demoniacal molestations. The form, as given by Hittorp, runs thus:—

"Per quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas. In tuo nomine Deus pater omnipotens, et Iesu Christi filii tui Domini nostri signo, et in virtute Spiritus Sancti hanc creaturam olei exorcizamus, simulque sanctificamus, quia ita benignus Dominus per suos Apostolos declarare dignatus est, dicens: Si quis infirmatur in vobis, inducat Presbyteros Ecclesiae, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei. Et iterum per ipsum omnia possibilia esse credentibus docuisti; et ut cunctum saeculum eius claritate salvares; sic per eundem locutus es, dicens: Petite, et dabitur vobis: quaerite, et invenietis: pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Qua-

[1] Perhaps the heading dates from the second half of the eleventh century, though the form itself may be earlier.

propter, Domine, tua ineffabili bonitate comperta, submissis precibus credentes nullum alium Deum, nisi te Domine, qui dives es in misericordia, celeriterque subvenis, peritissimum medicum imploramus, ut apertis caelis Spiritus Sancti velocitate deducta, virtutis tuae medicinam in hoc oleum propitius infundas. Descendat super hoc oleum potentiae donum, descendat claritas et origo virtutum, descendat benignitas et puritas sanitatis. Exorcizetur crucis Christi vexillo, benedicatur dextera maiestatis tuae, et corroboretur filii tui Domini nostri signaculo. Praesto sint, Domine, Angeli et Archangeli, et omnis militia caelestis. Adsit Apostolorum ac Martyrum, et fidelium sacerdotum, vel etiam aliorum servorum tuorum dignissima oratio, sub quorum praesentia dum in tuo nomine Domine pater immense, hoc unguentum compositionis atque permixtionis dederimus liniendis corporibus infirmis, continuo peragratis visceribus eorum, omnem evomant violentiam fellis. Prosit, pater misericordiarum, febribus et dysenteria laborantibus, prosit paralyticis, caecis et claudis, simulque vexaticiis. Quartana, tertiana, et quotidiana excutiat frigora. Mutorum ora resolvat, Arentia membra reficiat, Dementiam cordis ad scientiam revocet, dolorem capitis, oculorum infirmitatem, manuum, pedum, brachiorum, pectoris simulque et intestinorum atque omnium membrorum tam intrinsecus, quam extrinsecus, medullarumque dolorem expellat, somnum quietis infundat,

et salutem conferat sanitatis. Si qua vero maligna vel venenosa nascentia in corporibus quorumcunque fuerint generata, tactus unguenti huius omnes radicitus eorum arefaciat sationes. Morsus vero bestiarum, canum rabiem, scorpionum, serpentium, viperarum, atque omnium monstruosorum leniat dolores, et superinducta sanitate, plagarum sopiat cicatrices. Impetum quoque daemonum, vel incursiones spirituum immundorum, atque legionum malignarum vexationes, umbras, et impugnationes, et infestationes, artes quoque maleficorum, Chaldaeorum, augurum, et divinorum incantationes, et venena promiscua, quae spirituum immundorum virtute nefanda et exercitio diabolico conficiuntur, iubeas Domine per hanc invocationem tuam ab imis visceribus eorum omnia expelli, ut exiens inimicus de corporibus famulorum, famularumque tuarum omnium, confusus et excruciatus, et nullam in eis maculam relinquens, a tuis sanctis angelis constringatur, et in inferno, sicut eum expectat digna sententia, gehennae ignibus mancipetur, nec ultra ad eos habeat ingrediendi locum, sed salvati famuli tui ab his omnibus malis, referant honori tuo laudes in perpetuum sempiternas, et sciant quia tu es Deus inseparabilis Trinitas, regnans in saecula saeculorum. Amen [1]."

[1] Since this Appendix has been put into type, I have discovered that this form finds a place in Leofric's Missal (edit. Warren, 1883, pp. 257, 258). Leofric was Bishop of Exeter from 1050–1072.

FORMS 17 AND 18. The length of the Greek and English mediaeval services for administering sacramental Unction to the sick makes it quite impossible for me to insert them in this Appendix. I shall therefore content myself with giving references to books where they may be found.

The Constantinopolitan form for blessing and administering the Prayer-oil is printed in the Εἰχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, edit. Venet., 1891, pp. 260–288. I have given some account of this form above, on pp. 132–6.

The Sarum Office for administering Extreme Unction is given at length in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (vol. i. pp. 105–129, second edit.).

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FORM 19. The Roman *Ordo ministrandi sacramentum Extremae Unctionis* is considerably shorter than the Constantinopolitan and Sarum Offices: but it is too long to be inserted here in its entirety. I shall print here only those prayers which throw light on the purpose for which the rite is administered. I follow the text of the *Rituale Romanum* (edit. Rom., 1870, pp. 89–92).

Before the *Parochus* begins to anoint the sick person, he says:

"In nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti, extinguatur in te omnis virtus diaboli per impositionem manuum nostrarum, et per invocationem omnium Sanctorum Angelorum,

Archangelorum, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, Virginum, atque omnium simul Sanctorum. Amen.

*Deinde intincto pollice in Oleo Sancto, in modum Crucis ungit infirmum in partibus hic subscriptis, aptando proprio loco verba formae in hunc modum:*

Ad Oculos.

Per istam sanctam Unctionem ✠, et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid per visum deliquisti. Amen.

Ad Aures.

Per istam sanctam Unctionem ✠, et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid per auditum deliquisti. Amen."

Then the Priest goes on to apply the unction "ad Nares," "ad Os, compressis labiis," "ad Manus," "ad Pedes," and, in the case of men, "ad Lumbos sive Renes," substituting in the form in each case the appropriate word to describe the bodily action sinfully misused, as "odoratum," "gustum et locutionem," "tactum," "gressum," and "lumborum delectationem."

Then, after the Lesser Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and a few Versicles and Responses, the Priest goes on to say the three following prayers:

"Domine Deus, qui per Apostolum tuum

Iacobum locutus es: Infirmatur quis in vobis? Inducat Presbyteros Ecclesiae, et orent super eum, ungentes eum Oleo in nomine Domini: et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus: et si in peccatis sit, remittentur ei: cura, quaesumus, Redemptor noster, gratia sancti Spiritus languores istius infirmi, eiusque sana vulnera, et dimitte peccata, atque dolores cunctos mentis et corporis ab eo expelle. plenamque interius et exterius sanitatem misericorditer redde, ut ope misericordiae tuae restitutus, ad pristina reparetur officia. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis, et regnas Deus in saecula saeculorum.

Respice, quaesumus, Domine, famulum tuum N. in infirmitate sui corporis fatiscentem, et animam refove, quam creasti: ut castigationibus emendatus, se tua sentiat medicina salvatum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui benedictionis tuae gratiam aegris infundendo corporibus, facturam tuam multiplici pietate custodis: ad invocationem tui Nominis benignus assiste; ut famulum tuum ab aegritudine liberatum, et sanitate donatum, dextera tua erigas, virtute confirmes, potestate tuearis, atque Ecclesiae tuae sanctae, cum omni desiderata prosperitate, restituas. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. ℟. Amen."

It should be noted that in this Roman office no reference is made to the removal of the *reliquiae* of sin, nor is any explicit reference made to any imminent prospect of death, nor

are prayers offered that the soul of the sick man may have special graces imparted to him, enabling him to die happily. Two prominent matters stand out as the principal objects, with a view to which the rite is administered—namely, first and chiefly the remission of sins, and secondly the restoration of health to body and mind. Thus the Roman rite, as at present used, is based on the theory which came into vogue in the West during the first half of the ninth century; and it shows no traces of the later scholastic theories, whether pre-Tridentine or post-Tridentine; nor has it been influenced by the Tridentine definition itself. The Roman rite is in no way primitive or Apostolic; but it connects itself with the earlier stage of doctrinal corruption, when the Unction began to be regarded as a channel of sanctifying grace, namely of the grace of the remission of sins.

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Form 20. There is a very interesting form in the *Rituale Romanum* for the benediction of what is called *Oleum Simplex*[1]. This benediction is in no way reserved to bishops, nor need the priest who blesses the oil apply to the bishop for a faculty permitting him to do so. The formula runs as follows:

"Benedictio Olei Simplicis.

℣. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
℟. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

[1] *Ritual. Rom.*, edit. 1870, pp. 240, 241.

*Exorcismus.*

Exorcizo te creatura olei per Deum Patrem ✠omnipotentem, qui fecit caelum et terram, mare, et omnia, quae in eis sunt. Omnis virtus adversarii, omnis exercitus diaboli, et omnis incursus, omne phantasma satanae eradicare, et effugare ab hac creatura olei, ut fiat omnibus, qui eo usuri sunt, salus mentis et corporis, in nomine Dei Patris ✠omnipotentis, et Iesu ✠Christi Filii eius Domini nostri, et Spiritus ✠Sancti Paracliti, et in charitate eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem. ℟. Amen.

℣. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

℣. Dominus vobiscum.
℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Domine Deus omnipotens, cui adstat exercitus Angelorum cum tremore, quorum servitium spirituale cognoscitur, dignare respicere, benedi ✠cere, et sanctificare hanc creaturam olei, quam ex olivarum succo eduxisti, et ex eo infirmos inungi mandasti, quatenus sanitate percepta, tibi Deo vivo et vero gratias agerent; praesta quaesumus, ut hi, qui hoc oleo, quod in tuo nomine bene ✠dicimus, usi fuerint, ab omni languore, omnique infirmitate, atque cunctis insidiis inimici liberentur, et cunctae adversitates separentur a plasmate tuo, quod

pretioso Sanguine Filii tui redemisti, tu numquam laedatur a morsu antiqui serpentis. Per eumdem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. ℟. Amen.

*Aspergat Oleum Aqua benedicta.*"

A study of these forms makes it clear that this oil is exorcized and hallowed in order that those who use it may be delivered from all sickness and from all the snares of Satan, and may obtain health of mind and body. The oil is not supposed to convey remission of sins or any other sanctifying grace. The prayers used in the hallowing of the oil are quite on a line with the primitive forms for consecrating the oil of the sick, which have been printed in the earlier part of this Appendix; and it seems to be implied that the use of this oil will be a fulfilment of the Jacobean precept. God is petitioned to sanctify this creature of oil, with which He has commanded that the sick should be anointed, in order that, when they have recovered their health, they may give thanks to Him. I know of no passage in which such a command is given, except the passage in S. James v. 14, 15. Altogether, it seems to me to be probable that these prayers represent a survival of the apostolic and non-sacramental usage of anointing the sick, which has continued on in the Latin Church side by side with the new sacramental rite of anointing,

which arose through a misunderstanding in the ninth century. Compare note 1 on p. 390, below.

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Form 21. The following rubrick, prayer, and psalm are printed at the end of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI:

"*If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus:*

As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed; so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his infinite goodness, that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the spirit of all strength, comfort, relief and gladness: and vouchsafe for his great mercy (if it be his blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength, to serve him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever his goodness (by his divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee: we, his unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the eternal majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions and carnal affections: who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength, by his Holy

Spirit, to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin and death, through Christ our Lord: who by his death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen."

Then follows Psalm xiii, *Usque quo, Domine?* with *Gloria Patri.*

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FORM 22. The last formula connected with the anointing of the sick which I shall print in this Appendix is "The Form of Consecrating the OIL for the SICK," which is to be found in the Non-juring Bishop Dr. Thomas Deacon's[1] *Compleat Collection of Devotions, both publick and private,* published in London in 1734, on p. 172. It runs thus: "*When the Oil for the Sick is to be consecrated, the Deacon, immediately after the Nicene Creed in the Eucharistic Service, shall bring a proper quantity of sweet Oil of Olives in a decent vessel to the Bishop, who shall place it upon the Altar; and then turning to the People, he shall say:*

[1] Thomas Deacon was born in 1697, and died in 1753. He was ordained Deacon and Priest in March, 1716, by Bishop Jeremy Collier, and was consecrated to the episcopate by Bishop Archibald Campbell in 1733. An interesting account of him will be found in Dr. Overton's book entitled, *The Nonjurors; their Lives, Principles and Writings.*

The Lord be with you.
*Answ.* And with thy spirit.

*Then shall the Deacon say to the People,*
Let us pray.

*Then the People shall kneel down; and the Bishop turning to the Altar, and standing before it, shall say the following prayer:*

O Almighty Lord God, who hast taught us by Thy holy Apostle Saint James, to anoint the sick with oil, that they may attain their bodily health, and render thanks unto Thee for the same; look down, we beseech Thee, and bless and sanc✠tify [*here the Bishop is to make the sign of the Cross over the Oil*] this Thy creature of Oil, the juice of the olive: Grant that those who shall be anointed therewith may be delivered from all pains, troubles and diseases both of body and mind, and from all the snares, temptations and assaults of the powers of darkness, through our Lord JESUS Christ thy Son; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

*Then the People shall rise, and the Deacon shall carry the consecrated Oil into the Vestry, or to some other convenient place.*"

## APPENDIX II.

### The Witness of the Syriac Christian Literature of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries concerning the Unction of the Sick and its Effects (see p. 132).

#### I. *The evidence of S. Ephraim.*

S. Ephraim the Syrian is the greatest name in Christian Syriac literature, and I begin with his witness. He was born about the year 300, or perhaps somewhat earlier, and died in extreme old age in 373 [1]. In the concluding portion of the second Syriac volume of the great Roman edition of his works (1740) is to be found a collection of fifty-six Rhythms or Metrical Sermons against divers heresies (*Sermones adversus Haereses*, al. *Sermones Polemici* [2]). The forty-sixth of these sermons

[1] I follow the chronology of Dr. Gwynn in his *Introductory Dissertation* to the translated selections from the writings of S. Ephraim and of Aphrahat in the *Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xiii. pp. 144, 145.

[2] Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt (*S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel, Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. no. 2, pp. 24, 25) gives a list of all the works attributed to S. Ephraim, which are extant in MSS. earlier than the Mohammedan invasions. All these works he regards as genuine. One of the entries on the list is *Sermones Polemici lvi.*

is directed against the Marcionite heresy, and in particular against the doctrine attributed by him to the Marcionites, according to which the human body is the work of the devil. In his polemic against this doctrine, S. Ephraim had in previous anti-Marcionite sermons appealed to our Lord's miracles of healing during the time of His ministry, as proving that the Lord cared for the bodies of men, which could not therefore be supposed to be the work of Satan, the arch-enemy of the Saviour[1]. In this forty-sixth sermon[2] the Saint appeals in a similar way to the cures wrought by the *visitatores* (sâ-ûra, ܥܘܪܟ̈ܐ), who were certainly priests, though it is not at present clear to me whether they were what we should call parish priests, or whether they were the περιοδευταί[3] mentioned in the 57th canon of

[1] See the 42nd, 43rd, and 44th of the *Sermones Polemici* (*Opp. Syriac.* S. Ephraem., ed. Rom. 1740, tom. ii. pp. 534–9).

[2] *Op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 541.

[3] I see that in one of the longer prayers which the bishop is directed to say in the Maronite service for ordaining a *Periodeutes* or *Visitator*, the following passages occur :—" Deus . . . *qui dedisti potestatem Apostolis suis sanctis, ut ægrotos sanarent, et virtutem inimici expellerent*, . . . petimus a te . . . ut . . . concedas huic servo tuo N. inhabitationem Spiritus tui Sancti, et elevetur ex gradu presbyterorum ad gradum periodeutarum . . . atque sine culpa regat Ecclesiam tuam, et sacerdotes qui ipsi subsunt ; et advenas suscipiat, *infirmos visitet*, viduas sustentet . . . et gubernet gregem suum in æquitate" (*Codex Liturgic. Eccl. Univers.*, ed. J. A. Asseman. Rom. 1756, tom. ix. pp. 184–6. And later on in the service, when the bishop delivers to the newly ordained Periodeutes the Church which he is to govern, he says to him, among

the Council of Laodicea and elsewhere. What is clear is that these *visitatores* anointed the sick on the forehead in the form of a cross, and used insufflations, and prayed over the sick, no doubt petitioning that they might be healed. S. Ephraim says:—

"Indeed this [argument] should suffice to enable thee to refute thy opponents who have so greatly maligned thee. If thou art sick and without physicians' drugs, the *visitatores* bestir themselves on thy behalf. They pray over thee. One blows on thee [1]; another seals thee. But if thou hast been created by the devil, it must be by the help of the devil that they pray over thee and seal thee."

Dr. Gustav Bickell, a distinguished Roman Catholic Orientalist, and professor in the University of Vienna, summarizing and explaining this passage, says:

"Sacerdotes super aegrotos preces fundunt

other injunctions:—"Liga, et solve, praecipe et constitue in iustitia . . . viduas adiuva, *aegrotos visita*, consule pauperibus," &c. (*op. cit.* ix. 198, 199). These passages make me inclined to think that S. Ephraim, in his 46th *Sermo Polemicus*, is referring to the Periodeutae.

[1] The insufflation would be done, I suppose, with the view of driving away evil spirits, who might have had some share in bringing on the sickness. Compare the words of our Lord, recorded in S. Luke xiii. 16, and the Evangelist's own words in S. Luke xi. 14. For the ceremony of insufflation for driving away demons see Tertullian. *ad Uxor.* ii. 5, and *De Idololatr.* xi. (*Opp.* ed. Oehler, i. 85, 690). Insufflation was and still is a regular accompaniment of the exorcizing of catechumens both in the East and in the West.

eosque attlant et signant, id est sine dubio eos oleo in crucis forma illinunt[1]."

It is to be noted in regard to the above-quoted passage from S. Ephraim, that the Unction of the sick by the clergy was evidently a regular institution beyond the Euphrates in the fourth century. It must be also noted that S. Ephraim makes no reference to any effect of the Unction except that of restoration to health. The Unction, accompanied by prayer, was to be resorted to, if the drugs of the physicians should fail.

There is, however, another passage in S. Ephraim's works, which Dr. Bickell claims[2] as a clear testimony, proving that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was in use at Edessa in S. Ephraim's time. The passage occurs in the 73rd of the *Carmina Nisibena*[3], a poem, the subject of which is the future Resurrection of the dead. In order to understand the words in which Dr. Bickell finds a testimony in favour of sacramental Unction, it will be well to summarize that part of the poem, which immediately precedes the passage on which he lays stress.

[1] S. Ephraem. Syr. *Carmina Nisibena*, ed. Bickell, Lipsiae, 1866. pp. 223, 224, note.

[2] Cf. Gustav Bickell, *Conspect. Rei Syrorum Literariae*, edit. 1871, pp. 76, 77.

[3] It was only the first twenty-one of the *Carmina Nisibena* that were written at Nisibis. The remaining fifty-six were written at Edessa, to which city S. Ephraim retired after the cession of Nisibis to the Persians by Jovian in 363.

S. Ephraim has been drawing out the symbolism of Pharaoh, who drowned the men children of the Hebrews in the Nile, and was afterwards himself drowned in the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus, when the people of God were delivered. He goes on to show that Pharaoh was a type of cruel Death who destroys many infants now, but who will himself be destroyed in the joyous day of the resurrection of Christ's people. Then he speaks of the certainty of the future resurrection of those Hebrew infants, and of how their fathers, who had cried to heaven in their bereavement, received a pledge of the future resurrection of their children, when the blood of the passover lambs preserved their firstborn from the sword of the destroying angel.

Then the holy Deacon passes on to another type, based either on that vision of Ezekiel which is recorded in the ninth chapter of his prophecy, or on S. John's vision recorded in Rev. vii. 3. S. Ephraim says: ·

"One of the angels received a commandment, and set the sign of salvation upon the foreheads of the righteous. Circumcision was put to shame when it saw the secret seal by which it was overcome. Seal with the Cross your dying [*or*, dead] friends, that they may overcome the second death."

[1] Unus ex angelis mandatum accepit et signavit signaculum salvationis in frontibus iustorum. Circumcisio pudefacta est, cum videret sigillum secretum, quo vincebatur. Cruce signate morientes [*sive*—mortuos] vestros,

Dr. Bickell, commenting on the last sentence of this quotation, and specially on the Syriac word, for which in his Latin translation he gives the two alternative renderings, "*morientes*" and "*mortuos*," says[1]:

"Verbum ܡܬܝܬܗܘܢ (Mythykun) pro vocalium diversitate dupliciter verti potest, aut 'mortuos vestros,' aut 'morientes vestros,' quorum ultimum praetuli. Ritus enim mortuos signo crucis signandi, nunquam, quantum scio, commemoratur. Versio autem 'morientes vestros,' quamquam participium Poel rarius cum suffixis iungitur, firmatur per locum S. Ephraemi II, 541 b, secundum quem sacerdotes super aegrotos preces fundunt eosque

ut vincant alteram mortem" (S. Ephraem. Syr. *Carmina Nisibena*, ed. Bickell, 1866, pp. 223, 224).

[1] "The word *Mythykun* may be translated in two ways, according as one or other method of arranging the vowel-points is preferred. It may be rendered either 'your dead ones' or 'your dying ones'; and I have given the preference to the latter version. For the rite of sealing the dead with the sign of the Cross is never, to my knowledge, mentioned. But, although the Poel participle is somewhat rarely joined with suffixes, yet the translation, 'your dying ones,' is confirmed by a passage of S. Ephraim (*Opp. Syriac.*, edit. Rom., tom. ii. p. 541, see above, on p. 348), according to which priests in his day prayed over the sick and blew at them, and sealed them, where the word, 'sealed,' undoubtedly means anointed them with oil in the form of a cross. But if we should give the preference to the version, 'your dead ones,' the holy doctor would be made to teach that the dead can be saved by other men, a sentiment which would be repugnant, not less to reason than to faith."

afflant et signant, id est sine dubio eos oleo in crucis forma illinunt. Si autem verteremus 'mortuos vestros,' S. doctor doceret, mortuos per alios homines salvari posse, quod rationi non minus quam fidei repugnaret."

Here it must be noticed that the Syriac word ܡܝܬܝܟܘܢ (Mythykūn) is printed in the preceding quotation from Dr. Bickell's note in unpointed Syriac; and, as Dr. Bickell observes, when the vowel-points are added, it may represent either the active or the passive participle, according to the way in which it is pointed. It may be pointed thus, ܡܰܝܬܝܟܘܢ (Mâyĕthāykūn), and then it would mean "your dying ones." But it may also be pointed thus, ܡܺܝܬܝܟܘܢ (Mīthāykūn [1]), and then it would mean "your dead ones." The question to be decided is—which of these two meanings was intended by S. Ephraim? The reader will have observed that Dr. Bickell admits that the active participle is somewhat rarely joined with suffixes. To take the instance of the verb Mâth or Mīth, with which we are immediately concerned, I do not think that in the whole Peshittâ Bible a single instance can be found of the active participle of that verb with a pronominal suffix joined to it; whereas it is easy to find instances of

[1] The termination āykūn is the 2nd person plural masculine pronominal suffix, in the form which it takes when it is appended to plural nouns; and it is represented in English by the word "your."

the past participle Mīth (at any rate in the plural number) with a suffix appended to it[1]. This fact creates a certain presumption in favour of the pointing which Dr. Bickell rejects. Let us therefore go on to consider carefully the reasons which he gives for this rejection.

1. Dr. Bickell thinks that his pointing is confirmed by that passage from the forty-sixth of S. Ephraim's Polemic Sermons, the meaning of which I discussed on pp. 348, 349. I confess that I do not understand how that passage helps him in the smallest degree. He himself tells us that the passage describes the priests as offering up prayers over the sick, and blowing on them, and anointing them with oil in the form of a cross[2]. And the whole argument of the sermon shows that they did this with a view to the recovery of the sick man. It is when the drugs of the physicians have failed that the *Periodeutae* are to intervene with their prayers and insufflations and unctions. And S. Ephraim refers to the matter in order to show that the body is not the work of Satan, but of God. It is difficult to see how, in such a context, it would be apposite to refer to the Unction of dying persons with a view to their overcoming the second death; whereas it is highly apposite to refer to the supernatural cure of the sick wrought through the ministrations of

[1] See Gen. xxiii. 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15; Isa. xxvi. 19; S. Matt. viii. 22; S. Luke ix. 60.

[2] See above, pp. 348, 349.

God's priests. It appears, therefore, that S. Ephraim, in this rhythm or sermon, is referring to an ordinary case of Jacobean anointing; and obviously that will not help the proposed interpretation of the passage in the *Carmina Nisibena*, according to which S. Ephraim is enjoining the administration of sacramental Unction to dying persons with a view to their overcoming the second death. If that were indeed his meaning, the passage would stand alone in the patristic literature of the first seven centuries. For I do not think that a single passage of any author who lived during that period can be discovered in which an injunction is given to anoint dying persons.

2. I pass on to consider Dr. Bickell's other argument. He says that, so far as his knowledge goes, the rite of sealing or anointing *the dead* with the sign of the cross is never mentioned. If that were really the fact, it would be an argument of weight. It would be the very argument with which, a few lines back, I concluded my reply to the other section of Dr. Bickell's train of reasoning. But I cannot believe that Dr. Bickell himself would put forth such an argument now. It must be remembered that his edition of the *Carmina Nisibena*, excellent as it is held to be, as to its Syriac scholarship and in other ways, by those who have a right to express an opinion on such a subject, was nevertheless published in 1866—or, in other words, thirty-seven years ago. Dr. Bickell must have been

at that time a young man; and there must be many facts known to him now of which he was ignorant then. Anyhow, there can be no shadow of a doubt that during long ages of the Church's history the rite of anointing the dead has been practised, and the practice has been widely spread, especially, though not exclusively, in the East. I proceed to give my proofs.

About 130 years after the *Carmina Nisilena* were written, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite wrote a description of the burial rites which were commonly used in that part of the Catholic Church with which he was acquainted. After mentioning the dismissal of the catechumens by the Archdeacon, and the commemoration by name of those who have recently departed this life in the communion of the Church, Pseudo-Dionysius goes on to say:—

"Then the Bishop approaching offers a prayer over the dead person, at the conclusion of which he kisses him, and all who are present do the same. And when all have given the kiss, the Bishop *pours the oil on him who has fallen asleep*. And when he has said a prayer on behalf of all, he deposits the body in an honourable receptacle, along with other bodies of Christians belonging to the same order[1]."

[1] Dionys. Areopag. *De Eccl. Hierarch.* cap. vii. pars ii, *Opp.* ed. Corderii, Venet. 1755, tom. i. p. 265.

That means, I suppose, that a priest is to be buried with priests, and a monk with monks, and a layman, who has lived in the world, with other laymen who have lived in the world. From this passage it is quite clear that at the end of the fifth century it was customary in some regions of the East, if not in all, to anoint the body of the dead person immediately before his entombment.

Rather less than two hundred years after the time of Pseudo-Dionysius, the Penitential of S. Theodore of Canterbury was published. In that compilation we are told that "According to the use of the Roman Church, it is the custom to carry monks and other religious after their death to the church, *and to anoint their breasts with chrism*, and to celebrate masses for them there; then to carry them with chanting to their graves[1]," &c. The Penitential seems to have been compiled, or at any rate concluded, between 676 and 690; and S. Theodore spent some time in Rome during the years which immediately preceded his consecration in 668.

Barhebraeus, who was Jacobite Maphrian of the East from 1264 till his death in 1286, describes in his Nomocanon the ceremonial that was used in Syria by the Jacobites at the burial of bishops, priests, deacons, and

[1] *Poenitentiale Theodori*, lib. ii. cap. v. § 1, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii. p. 194.

monks. He says that at a certain point in the service:

"The priest prays the prayer which is said over the 'unguentum,' and puts it (*proicit*) three times cross-wise (*cruciformiter*) on the breast of the dead person, saying: 'For rest from labours, and for deliverance from afflictions, and for the sweetness which is with the Saints, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost[1].'"

It is interesting to note that it is explicitly stated that the ointment was to be applied "cruciformiter." I have no doubt that the oil mentioned by Pseudo-Dionysius, and the chrism mentioned by S. Theodore were applied in a similar way. Whether the "unguentum" mentioned by Barhebraeus was oil or chrism, I cannot say. I have not had access to Bedjan's Syriac edition of the Nomocanon. Mai in his translation uses the word "unguentum."

J. S. Assemani bears witness[2] that in his time, that is, in the eighteenth century, priests were anointed with oil after death, both among the Syrian Jacobites and also among the Maronites. These last have for many centuries past been in communion with the Roman see.

Among the nine canons, which are said by the Armenians to have been sent by S. Macarius

[1] Barhebr. *Nomocanon*, cap. vi. sect. i, Mai. *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Collect.* tom. x. part. ii. p. 37.

[2] Cf. Denzing. *Ritus Orientalium*, tom. i. p. 189.

of Jerusalem (circa 335) to S. Verthanes, the third Catholicos of the Armenian Church, there is one (the fourth) which touches on the Unction of the dead. After reserving the consecration of the chrism normally to the archbishop, and exceptionally to a commission of three bishops, the canon proceeds: "But let the presbyters and bishops, each one by himself, bless the *oil of the dead*, of the sick, and of the catechumens[1]." But these canons are certainly considerably later than the fourth century, and cannot possibly have had their origin in the Church of Jerusalem[2]. Still, they may be quoted as showing the Armenian usage at some later date.

Denzinger gives a Latin translation of the rite used among the Armenians for anointing the dead bodies of bishops and priests[3]. The rite is taken from a MS. Armenian Ritual, which was transcribed in the year 1415, and is now in the Barberini library at Rome. The rubrics direct that, after the conclusion

[1] Mai. *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Collect.* tom. x. part. ii. p. 271.

[2] I do not make this remark because of the mention of the "oil of the dead," but for other reasons.

[3] In Trombelli's *Tractatus de Extrema Unctione* (tom. iii. pp. 92–114) there is a *Dissertatio de Extremae Unctionis Sacramento apud Orientales* by Stephanus Borgia, at that time Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda, afterwards a Cardinal of the highest eminence. On p. 113 Borgia says:—"Mos *a retustissimis temporibus* apud Armenos invaluerat, ut ante altare corpora extinctorum episcoporum exponerentur, quibus caput et manus chrismate statis ritibus inungerentur, ac dein ab episcopis ad ceteros etiam sacerdotes huiusmodi caeremonia processit." Trombelli's book was published in 1778.

of the Mass, the body of the defunct is to be placed before the altar; and, the holy chrism having been brought to the bishop or priest, he anoints first the forehead, then the head, and finally the right hand "*in modum crucis*." Then follow certain prayers, the last of which I give here:—

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who by the most holy anointing of chrism didst choose prophets and priests, that they might minister and offer sacrifices to Thee, Thy Holy Spirit resting on them; and didst still more abundantly fill the blessed Apostles with Thy grace, invisibly anointing with Thy Spirit those who illuminated the whole world by the regeneration of the laver. Therefore, O Almighty Lord, who hast chosen this Thy servant to the honour of Thy glorious Name and to the ministry of Thy holy altar, strengthening him by the heavenly anointing to stand the test of the conflict with the enemy: do Thou now, we beseech Thee, have respect to the prayers of us who are gathered together in the temple of Thy glorious sanctuary; and, as we have placed this Thy servant before this holy altar, grant to him abundantly Thy mercy through the grace of the anointing with this sacred chrism, which he has this day received: and since Thou wilt send Thy Holy Spirit to renew Thy Saints, do Thou make him also along with us worthy of being renewed and raised in their company;

that he may be caught up in the clouds to meet Thee in the air; and may enter the bright tabernacles in the presence of those who have been chosen by Thee from the beginning of the world, and may hear Thy beatific Voice saying: 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you: and with them may glorify with thanksgiving the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost now and ever and to the ages of the ages [1].'"

In this prayer it is made quite clear that in the view of those who composed it, and of those who sanction it, and of those who use it, it is hoped that the Unction administered to the dead body will be in some way a channel of the operation of God's mercy to the dead person, tending to make him worthy of a glorious resurrection and of eternal beatitude in heaven. It is no part of my duty to discuss in this appendix whether such a view is reconcilable with the teaching of Holy Scripture. I am merely noting the ideas which the Armenian Christians seem to connect with the Unction of the dead. Probably they do not suppose that grace is communicated sacramentally, *ex opere operato*, by the anointing; but rather that, whatever effect the Unction may produce, it will be due to the impetratory power of the

[1] Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, tom. ii. pp. 523, 524.

prayers of the Church. If they used the language of the schoolmen, they would, I imagine, say that the Unction of the dead is a sacramental and not a sacrament. In connexion with this Armenian rite for anointing the dead, I would call attention to the fact that the chrism is explicitly directed to be applied "*in modum crucis*." We have already seen that this was the custom of the Jacobites in the time of Barhebraeus; and doubtless, wherever this anointing of the dead has been used, it has been administered *cruciformiter*.

The Orthodox Greeks have the same custom of anointing the dead. In the Great Euchologion there is a service for the burial of laymen who have lived their lives in the world, that is to say laymen who have not been monks. After the ceremony of the last kiss the Trisagion is sung, "and the dead person is anointed by the priest," who proclaims that the brother, who has fallen asleep, was a believer in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Then the body is placed in the tomb, "and the priest taking oil makes three crosses over him," singing the Alleluia[1].

The Dominican, Goar, in his edition of the Euchologion, prints a prayer to be used during the anointing of the body, which he takes from a MS. once in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion, and now in the library of the

[1] See the Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, ed. Venet., 1891, pp. 475, 476.

monastery at Grotta Ferrata. Together with its heading, the prayer runs thus:—

"*A Prayer to be offered in the sepulchre, when for the third time the Chrism or Oil is to be applied* in modum crucis *to the corpse.* Remember O Lord our God our brother N. who died in faith and in hope of eternal life; and since Thou art good and kind to men, and overcomest sins, and blottest out iniquities, do Thou remit, forgive, and pardon every sin of his, voluntary or involuntary, raising him up at Thy second Coming that he may receive a share in the good things, with a view to which he put his trust in Thee, his faithful and clement God. For Thou, O Christ our God, art the Resurrection of Thy servant: and to Thee &c.[1]"

Here, if the terms of the prayer may be taken as interpreting the purpose of the Unction which it accompanies, it would seem that the body is anointed in the hope that the dead person will be helped thereby to attain to the full remission of his sins, and to the resurrection of the just. We may, I think, safely suppose that those who sanctioned the prayer believed that grace would be communicated, not sacramentally, but in the way indicated on pp. 360, 361.

I now come to my last quotation on this subject of the anointing of the dead. Lam-

[1] Εὐχολόγιον, ed. Goar, 1647, p. 543.

becius, in his elaborate catalogue of the MSS. in the imperial library at Vienna enumerates the contents of each one of the *codices* preserved there. In his description of the contents of one of these MSS., he mentions as one of the items an excerpt from S. John Chrysostom's *Oratio in Vitam humanam et de mortuis non nimium deflendis*, in which the following passage occurs:—"That in the ceremony of burying the dead it is right to pour oil upon them[1]." Not having had any opportunity of studying this *Oratio*, either in the Vienna *codex* or in a printed form, I can have no opinion as to whether it bears the marks of genuineness or not. I have not been able to discover any allusion to it in the thirteen volumes of the Benedictine S. Chrysostom. On the other hand, Photius quotes in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. cclxxvii) from a writing, which he attributes to S. Chrysostom, entitled:—"*That one ought not to mourn over the dead so excessively*" (*Μὴ οὕτω σφοδρῶς θρηνεῖν τοὺς τελευτωντας*[2]). The title would make one think that this composition was identical with the Vienna Oration; and if that be so, it is clear that the Oration was known to Photius, and was presumably regarded by him as genuine; for that remarkably learned patriarch had a

[1] *Ὅτι δεῖ ἐπὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπιχέειν ἔλαιον ἐν τῷ ἐνταφιάζειν αὐτούς.*—Lambec. *Commentar. Biblioth. Caesar. Vindobon.* lib. viii. xlv. 68, tom. viii. col. 949, ed. 1782.

[2] *P. G.* civ. 288.

critical sense of style; and not infrequently decides on grounds of style that such and such a composition, which he quotes, is not by the author whose name it bears. Of course, if the words quoted by Lambecius are really S. Chrysostom's [1], we have a first-rate proof that the Unction of the dead had become customary in Syria as early as the second half of the fourth century; and in that case all difficulty about attributing to S. Ephraim an allusion to it would be removed.

If the length of my discussion has not wearied out the reader, he will, I hope, have been convinced that Dr. Bickell was not on solid ground when he built an argument on the supposed absence of any mention of the rite of sealing the dead with the sign of the cross. We have seen that that rite was widely spread in various parts of the East, and that it was at one time in use at Rome. There is a clear mention of it at the end of the fifth century, and a possible reference to it in the fourth century. And even if we set aside the evidence of the Oration attributed to S. Chrysostom, the wide spread of the practice from the fifth century onwards makes it impossible to argue *a priori* that S. Ephraim cannot be supposed to be

[1] There can be no doubt that the subject of the wrongness of excessive mourning over the dead was a favourite topic with S. Chrysostom, as an investigation of the Benedictine index to his works will show.

alluding to such an Unction in the *Carmina Nisibena*[1].

Dr. Bickell does indeed give a theological reason against the admissibility of such a supposition. He thinks that, if S. Ephraim really wrote:—"Seal with the cross your dead ones, that they may conquer the second death," he would be teaching that the dead could be saved by other men. There would be considerable force in that argument, if S. Ephraim implied that the Unction conveyed grace to the dead *ex opere operato*: but to attribute such a theory to him seems to me to be a gratuitous proceeding. He was no doubt thinking of the dead being helped by the prayers of the Church; and the doc-

[1] As we have seen, the alternative is to suppose that S. Ephraim enjoined the Unction of *the dying* with a view to their escaping the second death. I know of no passage in any Christian writer, who wrote before the end of the eighth century, which suggests anything like this alternative. And even after that epoch, although one might find prayers for the remission of sins and for strength to resist the temptations of Satan, and perhaps for some other sanctifying graces, yet I doubt if any form for consecrating the *Oleum Infirmorum* or for administering it contains prayers referring to an escape from the second death in the day of resurrection. On the other hand, such prayers can be found, as I have shown, in connexion with the Unction of the dead.

[2] The Unction of the dead person, accompanied by prayer that he might escape the second death, would be regarded as a symbolical rite by means of which the Church would appropriate to her own heart and apply to her departed son S. Paul's prayer for Onesiphorus—"The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day" (2 Tim. i. 18).

trine that they can be so helped might be illustrated by countless quotations from the writings of contemporary fathers. I will quote here only one passage from S. Chrysostom:—

"Not in vain are the oblations made for the departed, not in vain the prayers, not in vain the alms-deeds: all those things hath the Spirit ordered, wishing us to be benefited one by the other. See: he is benefited, thou art benefited: because of him, thou hast despised wealth, being set on to do some generous act: *both thou art the means of salvation to him,* and he to thee the occasion of thine almsgiving[1]" (*καὶ σὺ αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτός σοι τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης γέγονεν αἴτιος*).

Considering the extraordinary misconceptions as to what is really meant by such words, which abound in most average English congregations, I am not in any way suggesting that they should be ordinarily used among ourselves, unless with careful explanation. But it is most legitimate to quote them as a complete answer to Dr. Bickell's somewhat strange theological objection to interpreting S. Ephraim's words in the sense in which I feel certain that he wrote them, namely as referring to the Unction of the dead.

[1] S. Chrysost. *Hom.* xxi. *in Actt. Apostt.* § 4. I have quoted the Oxford translation (p. 310), because the text used by the Oxford translators, which has unfortunately never been published, is so much better than the Benedictine text. In the last clause, however, the two texts agree. Cf. S. Chrysost. *Opp.*, ed. Ben., tom. ix. pp. 175, 176.

I trust that it will be felt that I have now disposed of the alleged proof that S. Ephraim can be quoted as a witness in favour of the use of sacramental Unction in the fourth century. I am sorry that the exigencies of my argument have compelled me to contend with Dr. Bickell, for whose learning and scholarship I have the most profound admiration, and to whose extreme courtesy and kindness I was indebted for a great deal of pleasure at Innsbruck twenty-five years ago. Let me here assure him that his kindness will never be forgotten by me.

I now pass on to consider the evidence of Rabbûla, the leading Syriac-speaking champion of the Catholic faith against Nestorius, and, as we have lately learnt from the remarkable work of Mr. Crawford Burkitt, the real author of the Peshiṭta version of the New Testament.

## II. *The evidence of Rabbûla.*

Rabbûla became Bishop of Edessa, the metropolis of Osrhoene, in 411, and he retained his see until his death on August 7, 435. There are certain canons promulgated by him which are still extant, and the first of them throws some light on the subject of the anointing of the sick.

In order that my readers may be in a good position to understand this canon, it will be well to recall to their memory some of the conclusions which I drew, near the end of the fourth chapter (pp. 190, 191), from a number of

historical instances of the consecration and administration of the oil of the sick during the first seven centuries of our era, instances which are set forth in that chapter in chronological order. Those historical instances seemed to show that the oil was sometimes blessed by an ordinary bishop or priest, and sometimes by some wonder-working saint, who might be either a priest or a layman, or even a lay-woman. And in whatever way the oil was blessed, it might be administered either by a priest or by a layman or by a lay-woman; or the patient, whoever he might be, might anoint himself. Then it was pointed out that all these different circumstances seemed to make no real difference in the nature of the Unction. Whoever had been the consecrator, and whoever was the administrator, the sole direct object of the rite was, if it so pleased God, to effect a supernatural cure of the bodily or mental sickness. The only limitation, that I could discover, was that the oil seemed to be never consecrated by lay persons, unless they were *thaumaturgi*. Rabbûla's canon, that I am going to quote, may show that, while the last sentence truly sets forth the ideal, it was not always followed in practice, especially among the monks. At any rate, in the time of Rabbûla, some of the monks of Osrhoene seem to have claimed, as monks, to have the power of consecrating the oil. Or, it may be that these monastic consecrators of oil put forward an unverified

claim to thaumaturgic sanctity, and on that ground blessed the oil, although they had never really received the χάρισμα of healing. The reader must remember that monks in the fifth century were normally laymen.

Rabbûla's canon then runs thus:—

"Monks are to take care that women never enter their monastery. Also no monk may give oil, especially to a woman. But if there be a monk who manifestly possesses the χάρισμα (*Syriace*—taibhutha), he may give oil to men; and, if there be women who stand in need, he shall send oil to them by the hand of their husbands[1]."

It is clear that the right to "*give* oil" mentioned here included the right to consecrate it. The canon itself implies that there were no restrictions on the sort of persons who could apply the oil. Women could either anoint themselves, or be anointed by their husbands at their own homes. But only monks, who manifestly had the χάρισμα of healing, could provide the holy oil by blessing it.

The regulation of Rabbûla was based on a true perception of what was right in this matter. The Church as a whole has received the χάρισμα of healing, and she exercises her gift through her ordained ministers, who receive the power, when they are ordained.

[1] Rabbûla's canon will be found in a volume published by the Clarendon Press—*S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabbulae, &c., Opera Selecta*, edit. J. J. Overbeck, 1865, p. 210. See also p. 212 of the same work.

But the Holy Spirit also imparts the χάρισμα as a personal gift to certain individual Christians, who may belong either to the clergy or to the laity. A bishop or priest as such may bless the oil[1]. A layman may only do so, if he has manifestly received the gift.

Rabbûla's canon does not explicitly mention the powers of the clergy in this matter; but it obviously implies them. The monks were evidently intruding on the province of the clergy[2], and needed to be checked. The general rule was laid down—"No monk may give oil." But a certain exception to the rule is then admitted. Monks, who are manifestly charismatic, may give oil to men, and may send it through the men to their wives. It is, however, evidently implied that all monastic consecration and distribution of oil is exceptional. The normal providers of the oil were the clergy. But assuredly the clergy would have been explicitly mentioned if the oil provided by them had been not merely charismatic but also sacramental. The fact that they are not mentioned shows that the oil provided by the clergy and the oil provided by charismatic monks produced similar effects. All this will come into clearer light,

[1] Of course the Church may, as a matter of discipline, restrict the right of blessing the oil to bishops only.

[2] We have already seen that in the time of S. Ephraim, fifty years or more before the date of the promulgation of Rabbûla's canon, the Unction of the sick by the clergy for purposes of healing was a regular institution in the provinces beyond the Euphrates. See p. 349.

if we proceed to consider the testimony of our next witness, Isaac of Antioch.

### III. *The evidence of Isaac of Antioch.*

Isaac of Antioch, otherwise known as Isaac the Great, was born at Amida now Diarbekr, on the Tigris, the metropolis of Mesopotamia. He studied at Edessa under the direction of one of the disciples of S. Ephraim; and at the conclusion of his studies he betook himself to Antioch, where, after having been ordained priest, he retired into one of the monasteries in the neighbourhood of that city. He wrote a great deal of poetry in Syriac, and the period during which he was producing his poems seems to have extended from about the year 400 to about the year 460. Only a small number of his literary productions have been printed, but a large number of other ones exist in manuscript. In one of the Syriac *codices* preserved in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Syr. 119) a poem of his is preserved, part of which has been translated into Latin by Dr. Bickell, who has published his translation in his *Conspectus Rei Syrorum Literariae*[1]. As the passage throws great light on the way in which the Unction of the sick was regarded by Syriac-speaking Christians in the first half of the

[1] The passage in the Syriac is to be found on fol. 127 of the MS., and Dr. Bickell's translation is on pp. 77, 78 (not. 12 in calce cap. ix) of the *Conspectus* (edit. 1871).

fifth century, I will print here an English rendering of Dr. Bickell's translation.

The poet is describing what often happened, when energumens were taken to be exorcized and healed by monks or recluses who falsely claimed to have received the gift of healing. He had been saying that the devil by his howling often pretended that he was being tortured by the ascetics, so that he might puff them up with pride. Then Isaac proceeds thus :—

"The devil cries out before these impostors that he may draw to himself artless persons, and may turn away foolish and unwise women from the church. But the women in their insane folly, when a report has reached them concerning the place where the demon is vociferating, taking their infants with them go away and leave the sacred building. They stupidly regard the visiting priest (*sacerdotem visitatorem*[1]) as a quack (*non probatum*), and so they despise his anointing (*signationem*); but they seek for one who comes to anoint them without delay. But, O woman, bestow rather a gift on the recluse, and receive the anointing from thy priest. Carry food to the monk; but have recourse thyself to the oil of the Apostles ('sed oleum

[1] In regard to the question which may be raised as to who these *visitatores* were, see above, on p. 347. Compare also note 3 on that page. The passages from the Maronite Service quoted in the note seem to show that the *periodeutae* held a position somewhat resembling that of a Rector in a large country parish, with a number of Curates under him.

apostolorum sit tibi'). Minister to all the things of which they stand in need: but in the matter of the truth adhere steadfastly to One ('sed in veritate permane apud unum'). Let thine alms be distributed to all; but let thy faith be fixed upon the Crucified; have recourse to His oil only, and receive thine anointing from the priest! Let not the hand of any silly man ('manus cuiusvis hominis insipidi'[1]) have sway over thy members. . . . Such women are not gifted with a high degree of faith; but rather they are under the power of a strong delusion. When they have recourse to the oil of the recluse, they do not go to him under the belief that he is an honourable person; but they say, Even though he be a fortune-teller or a wizard, let him impart healing to me ('sanationem mihi impertiat'). But he, the fool, is transported by pride, because the foolish women crowd to him. And they on the other hand unworthily and without the love of God in their heart hasten to his door, saying within themselves,—It is no matter to me what sort of a man he is, so long as I can get some good by his means. . . . Thus the oil of the Apostles and Martyrs[2], who endured death for the sake

[1] In Dr. Bickell's version the word here is "insipide." I have ventured to alter it into "insipidi," which seems to make better construing. But even if the Syriac word is really an adverb, the general sense will remain the same.

[2] In regard to the oil of the Apostles and Martyrs, see S. Chrysost. *Hom. in Martyres. Opp.* ed. Ben. 1734, tom. ii. pp. 669, 670; and S. Augustin. *de Civitat. Dei*,

of the truth, is despised, and the oil of impostors shines out on the faces of these misguided women. The servants of Christ and the orthodox are accustomed to bring their sick and infirm to the holy altar; but they do not dare to consecrate the oil themselves ('non autem ipsi audent oleum conficere'). But where there is a priest presiding over his people, they follow the course marked out by the law ('observant ordines iustitiae')."

I cannot understand how Dr. Bickell can say that Isaac distinguishes clearly in this passage between sacramental Unction and charismatic Unction[1]. There is not a word to suggest that the oil administered by the priests conveyed sacramentally remission of sins and other sanctifying graces. Whether people resorted to the priest or to the monk, they did so to get healed. In Isaac's view, the priest was an authorized consecrator and administrator of the oil, and he also had in some cases access to and control of the oil connected with one or other of the shrines of Apostles or Martyrs; while the monks, against whom Isaac was writing, were impostors who laid claim to a supernatural gift or χάρισμα which they did not really possess.

lib. xxii. cap. viii. § 18. *P. L.* xli. 767; and compare a note on p. 181, above. Isaac had studied at Edessa, a city which, in his time, claimed to be the proud possessor of the body of the Apostle S. Thomas. When the poet speaks of "the oil of Apostles" he was probably specially thinking of oil from the shrine of S. Thomas.

[1] Cf. *Conspect. Rei Syror. Literar.* pp. 76, 77.

But the people who went to be anointed, whether they went to the priest or to the monk, had the same object in view.

IV. *The evidence of the Nestorian Council of Seleucia, held under the presidency of the Catholicos Joseph, in* 554.

The nineteenth canon of this council deals with the case of fully instructed and fully initiated Christian men, who "voluntarily addict themselves to diabolical works, to heathen formulas of incantations, to ligatures, to amulets, to auguries, to divinations, or who say that there are fates, fortunes, horoscopes, or who observe times and moments for the doing of their actions." The canon decrees that—

"when any one of those, who have fallen into this great infirmity, turns himself towards repentance, let there be offered to him as means of healing (as they would be offered to one who was sick in body) *the oil of prayer blessed by the priests*, the water of prayer, fasting, prayer, watchfulness, continual vigils, until the cloud of foreign [i.e. heathenish] dust, which envelops him, shall have cleared away from his spirit: and further let him be continually led to listen to the admonitions, the teaching, the blame, the reproofs, which procure consolation, courage, hope, and pardon. It will be in this way that his penitence will be able to be tested and verified; and then little by little he will be gradually admitted

to some participations, but not immediately to the holy Mysteries [1]."

In this canon we find the "oil of prayer" coupled with the "water of prayer," just as it is similarly coupled in the Sacramentary of Serapion, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the *Testamentum Domini*, and in the Nestorian office for consecrating the oil for the sick. In all those documents the holy oil and the holy water are treated as things belonging to the same category. To use the scholastic phrase, they are both of them regarded as sacramentals rather than as sacraments.

It is obvious that this council of the year 554 is not legislating about the Tridentine sacrament of Extreme Unction; for the Council of Trent tells us that Extreme Unction is called "sacramentum exeuntium," because it is "to be administered *to the sick*, and specially to those who are so dangerously ill, that they would seem to be constituted *in exitu vitae*[2]"; whereas here the persons to be anointed are not supposed to be suffering from any bodily sickness, though they are sick in soul through the craft of the evil one.

It is to be observed that the canon does not suggest that either the holy oil or the holy water convey remission of sins to those who are anointed and sprinkled. Both the

[1] *Synodicon Orientale*, edit. Chabot, 1902, pp. 363, 364.

[2] *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiv. *De extrem. unct.* cap. iii. See below, in Appendix V, p. 409.

oil and the water are to be used along with prayer and fasting, as parts of a prolonged course of discipline, intended to heal the sickness of soul produced by dealings with Satan and with works which are in a special sense Satanic. There is nothing which suggests that they were only to be used in the ceremony of reconciliation at the end of the period of penance [1]. They are given the most prominent place in the enumeration of the means to be used during the time allotted to the penitential discipline [2], which is to restore the soul to health and prepare it for pardon and restoration. The oil takes its place among various remedies which will, it is hoped, restore in time spiritual health. It is not the channel of restoration to covenant union with God.

Again, the holy oil is not set forth as a means of healing, suitable for sins in general [3], but only for the sickness of soul resulting

[1] It might be suggested that there was perhaps a ceremony of reconciliation at the beginning of the period of penance; but there is nothing in the canon which points to any such custom; and the gift of "pardon" is mentioned last among the benefits which it is hoped will be secured by the discipline to which the penitent is to submit himself.

[2] Similarly, in the earlier ages of the Church the Holy Oil was sometimes applied to the limbs of the sick person day after day for a considerable time, until he was healed. See above, on p. 158.

[3] The fact that this Nestorian Unction does not convey remission of sins differentiates it from the sacramental Prayer-oil of the mediaeval and modern Eastern Church (compare pp. 232, 333).

from a certain class of sins, namely those connected with magic, and other methods of utilizing the power of demons. An analogy is expressly drawn between the treatment of those who by such means have brought on soul-sickness, and the means of healing usually offered to those who are sick in body. And as a matter of fact we know by many proofs that the *Oleum Infirmorum* was in the earlier ages of the Church used as a remedy for demoniacal possessions and hauntings and overshadowings [1], as well as for sickness of a more definitely bodily sort.

It seems therefore quite clear that the canon recognizes an Unction which should be regarded as Jacobean rather than sacramental.

The Abbé Chabot, the learned editor of the *Synodicon Orientale*, points out that the words, "as to one who was sick in body," deserve to be noticed, "car ils font allusion à l'usage d'oindre les malades chez les Nestoriens." He adds, candidly enough from his point of view, that it is "une question fort obscure de savoir si cette onction des malades était regardée par eux comme un sacrement ou comme une simple bénédiction [2]." I have given reasons in this book for considering it as practically certain that the Nestorians never regarded the Unction of the sick as a sacrament in the restricted sense of that word; but I welcome from a Roman

[1] See, for examples, pp. 85 and 89, and compare p. 336.
[2] *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 364, note 1.

Catholic the admission that their belief in its sacramental character is far from being clear, and that it is quite possible that they regarded the Unction as a "simple benediction[1]."

As for the Nestorian Unction of those who dabbled in occult arts, the Abbé Chabot himself does not venture to suggest that that rite has any claim to be regarded as a sacrament in the scholastic sense of that term.

I have now considered every passage in the Syriac Christian writings of the first six centuries, which, so far as I have noticed, are claimed by Roman Catholic writers as testimonies in favour of their teaching about Extreme Unction, or at any rate as possibly referring to that rite. I have tried to consider each passage with an open mind. But honestly, I can see no shadow of an allusion to anything but Jacobean anointing. The only passage which might at first sight look as if it was going to help forward the Tridentine teaching, turned out on investigation to have no re-

[1] The rather vague expression, "a simple benediction," would not be the phrase which I should myself choose to describe the Jacobean Unction of the sick. If one must class it with other rites, I should prefer to call it "a sacramental," as distinguished from a sacrament. [See the *Addendum* on p. 380]. Only, it is a sacramental which has the direct warrant of Holy Scripture, and enjoys therefore a higher degree of authority than the sacramentals generally, which owe their institution to the legislation of local churches in post-apostolic days. But even a scripturally warranted sacramental is something altogether different from a sacrament conveying sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*. On the subject of sacramentals, see below in Appendix III, pp. 383 ff.

ference whatsoever to the *Oleum Infirmorum*, but to contain an injunction to anoint the bodies of the dead. Thus the witness of the Syriac-speaking Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries [1], and of the Nestorians in the sixth century, agrees with that of the Greek and Latin Fathers of the first seven centuries.

[1] I limit my statement to the writers belonging to those centuries, not because I think that the Syriac-speaking Christians evolved a theory of sacramental Unction earlier than the Greeks and the Latins; but because my Syriac testimonies about Unction belong to those centuries.

## ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX II.

Dr. Ignatius Schmitz (*De Effectibus Sacram. Extrem. Unct.*, edit. 1893, p. 82) says:—"Estius [4, dist. 23, § 5] alio modo explicare vult, quare effectus corporalis [unctionis] non semper, ergo non infallibiliter, sequatur. Itaque putat sanationem corporalem non esse effectum sacramenti, quatenus est sacramentum, sed quatenus simul includit aliquod sacramentale. Unctio enim sacrati olei respectu corporis bene concipi tanquam sacramentale quoddam, sicut re vera in antiquitate non solum in Oriente, sed etiam in Occidente factum esse vidimus. Sacramentalia autem non infallibiliter neque ex opere operato effectum suum sortiuntur, quare mirum esse non debet, infirmi corporalem sanitatem non semper per hanc unctionem consequantur. Neque Catechismum Romanum [p. 2, cap. 6, qu. 7] ab hac sententia alienum esse fatendum est." These observations of Schmitz are excellent; but being bound by the Tridentine decree, he is obliged to hold that Unction is not only a sacramental but also a sacrament, and as such imparts sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*.

# APPENDIX III.

## Chiefly concerning Sacramentals, and concerning the Form for Exorcizing and Blessing Oil in the Bobbio Missal (see p. 130).

The *Oleum Infirmorum* was ordinarily blessed in the West at the close of the Canon of the Mass, either, as at Rome from the fourth century onwards, by the Bishop on Maundy Thursday, or, as in North Italy at any rate during the first ten centuries and a half, by any priest and on any day of the year.

In the greater part of the East it was one of the priests administering the Unction who blessed the oil, and he blessed it, not during the administration of the Holy Mysteries, but on the occasion of the anointing of the sick man, and in whatever place it might have been determined that the anointing should be performed [1].

In the West the form for blessing this oil was so worded as to set forth physical healing

[1] In Egypt in the fourth century what may be called the North Italian usage, or something very like it, and what may be called the normal Eastern usage, seem to have been, both of them, in vogue.

of mind and body as the sole object of the Unction, and such a form of blessing is used to this day by the bishops of the Latin Church, when they bless the *Oleum Infirmorum* on Maundy Thursday[1]. In the greater part of the East, since the change of view which, as I think, took place there, perhaps in the ninth century, perhaps a century or two earlier, the form for blessing the oil emphasizes the remission of sins as well as the gift of physical healing.

But both in the Greek and in the Slavonic Churches of the Orthodox East there is a custom of blessing bread, corn, wine, and oil after Vespers on the eves of certain festivals and Sundays. In the form used for blessing these things no reference is made to the healing of the sick nor to the remission of sins. The priest prays that God would sanctify those who partake of the things that are being blessed[2]. The blessed bread is

[1] Cf. *Pontificale Romanum*, edit. 1873, pars iii. p. 55. The form for blessing the oil in the Pontifical is substantially the same as the form in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 70). But in the present Roman Pontifical a form for exorcizing the oil is prefixed to the form for blessing it, and this exorcism implies that the Unction will convey a certain spiritual gift, making it possible for the Holy Ghost to dwell in the sick man. The prefixing of this exorcism is very significant. It was doubtless felt that the Gelasian form required to be supplemented, if the enlarged doctrine of later times was to be expressed.

[2] Dr. Neale in his *General Introduction* to the *History of the Holy Eastern Church* (vol. ii. pp. 907, 908) gives a translation

distributed and eaten, and the faithful, who are present and wish to be anointed, can have the oil administered to them by the bishop or priest before they leave the church. Of the origin of this custom I know nothing [1].

This oil is also not infrequently sent to the sick, who either anoint themselves with it, or are anointed with it by a priest. But such a use of it is not a fulfilment of the primary intention of the institution.

The use of this bread or corn or wine or oil is not regarded in any way as a sacrament in the restricted sense of that word. To employ, for the sake of clearness, the language of the Latin schoolmen, the use of any of these hallowed things is not supposed to convey sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*; but it is hoped that, if God sees fit, a blessing will be obtained from him *per modum impetrationis*, when the hallowed substance is devoutly

of the prayer which is used in the East, when this rite is performed. It runs as follows:—"Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who didst bless the five loaves in the wilderness and didst feed five thousand men; bless these loaves, the corn, the wine, and the oil: and multiply them all in this holy house, and in all thy world: and sanctify the faithful that partake of them. For thou art he that blessest and hallowest all things, Christ our God, and to thee, &c."

[1] I do not know whether in the separated Armenian, Coptic, and Syriac-speaking Churches this custom of blessing bread, wine, and oil after Vespers exists. I have never seen any reference to it, and am inclined to think that it does not exist in those bodies. If I am right, the fact may indicate that the date of the origin of the custom in the Orthodox Church is later than the fifth century.

eaten or drunk or used in the way of anointing. In other words, the holy bread and corn and wine and oil may be described in Latin phraseology as being sacramentals. The use of any of them may be classed with the use of holy water, and with the anointing of catechumens, and with many other similar rites, some of which were instituted in very early times. We find, for example, the use of exorcized bread mentioned in the Hippolytean canons [1]. But some of the other sacramentals have a much later origin.

The principal effects which it was hoped would be obtained by the use of any one of these sacramentals, must usually be learnt from the wording of the prayer or prayers appointed for the exorcizing or blessing of the matter of the sacramental.

Thus in the office for the great hallowing of the waters on the feast of the Epiphany, as it is at present used in the Orthodox Eastern Church, prayer is offered that "this water may become a gift of sanctification, a remedy for sins (*ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον*), serviceable for the healing of soul and body and for every need [2]."

In the ordinary exorcizing of water for the making of holy water, as it is to be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, the object of the exorcism is to purify the water from all diabolical taint, in order that, wherever it is

[1] See above, on p. 152, note 1.

[2] *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, edit. Venet., 1891, p. 354.

sprinkled, it may put to flight "omnem phantasiam, omnem inimici potestatem," and further that "Spiritus Sanctus habitet in domo hac[1]."

The Gelasian Sacramentary provides another form for blessing exorcized water "ad fulgura," in which, besides requests of the usual type that the sprinkling of the water may drive away evil spirits, it is specially asked that:

"fulgura et sidera quae missa videntur in hanc arborem non hominibus, aut pecoribus, aut frugibus noceant, sed abscedant et fugiant per invocationem nominis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et Spiritus Sancti[2]."

In the service for the Consecration of a Church in the *Pontificale Romanum* the Bishop exorcizes salt and also water, and then blesses the water, and also blesses ashes and wine, and having mixed them all together he blesses the mixture, praying God to pour out the Holy Spirit upon it, "ut armatum coelestis defensione virtutis, ad consecrationem huius ecclesiae et altaris tui proficiat[3]." This particular prayer is found with some small variations of reading in the Gelasian Sacramentary among the various forms to be used in the Dedication of a new Basilica[4]. In the Gelasian book the mixture consists only of wine and water.

As has been already mentioned, there are

[1] *Sacramentar. Gelas.*, ed. Wilson, p. 286.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 289. [3] *Pontifical. Rom.* part. ii. p. 47.
[4] *Sacramentar. Gelas.*, ed. Wilson, p. 133.

in Serapion's Sacramentary two forms for blessing oil for the sick, which are also used for blessing water for the sick. The forms are given above on pp. 315–7. This prayer-water for the sick is a special variety of holy water. I have already pointed out that provision is made for similar prayer-water for the sick in the *Testamentum Domini*[1], the Apostolical Constitutions[2], and the Nestorian rite of the *Hanana*[3]. The prayer-water was used for the purpose of applying to the sick person the Church's prayer for physical healing in body and mind.

I have mentioned these various forms to show how both in ancient and modern times water, either unmixed or mixed with other hallowed substances, was blessed for various ends, these ends being severally expressed in the different forms of benediction, appointed to be used for the different purposes. In all these cases it was believed and hoped that the use of the holy water and other holy things would produce the intended effect *per modum impetrationis.*

Sometimes in the forms for blessing or administering sacramentals divine authority is claimed for the rite, and that rite is administered in the hope that its reception will win for the recipient blessings of a very fundamental character.

Thus in the *Rituale Romanum* in the form

[1] See above, on pp. 114 and 123.
[2] See above, on pp. 84, 85. [3] See above, on p. 142.

for exorcizing the salt to be given to the catechumens it is stated that *God has ordered the salt to be consecrated* for the people who are drawing near to the faith, that is for the catechumens. The priest says: "Exorcizo te creatura salis . . . per Deum, qui te . . . populo venienti ad credulitatem per servos suos *consecrari praecepit.*" And when the priest puts the salt into the mouth of the catechumen he says: "Accipe sal sapientiae: *propitiatio tibi sit in vitam aeternam*[1]." Both forms with one slight variation of reading are to be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary[2].

Martene has published an Order for making holy water in a time of infectious disease, taken from a MS. which in his time belonged to a monastery at Uzès in Languedoc. The introductory rubric directs that the rite should be performed by seven priests aided by a deacon and sub-deacon. In the first of the exorcisms of the salt, which is said by all the seven priests simultaneously, they say: "Exorcizo te creatura salis . . . ut efficiaris sal exorcizatum, sisque . . . huic familiae *in remissionem peccatorum.*" And in one of the benedictions of the same salt, they pray that the salt may be blessed, "ut qui ex ea gustaverit, *non moriatur in aeternum, sed ad gratiam aeterni praemii pervenire mereatur*[3]." And further on in the same Order

[1] *Rituale Rom.*, edit. 1870, p. 26.
[2] *Sacramentar. Gelas.*, ed. Wilson, p. 47.
[3] Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*, ii. 995.

the seven priests are directed to bless water, and in the course of the form of benediction they say:

"Te supplices deprecamur, ut benedicere digneris hanc aquam, ut quicumque vel modice gustaverit, vel tantillum aspersus fuerit ab ea . . . benedictionis effectus consequatur . . . *fidei corroborationem, charitatis augmentum, spei securitatem, perfectamque salutis aeternae consequendae fiduciam* [1]."

Once more, in the *Rituale Romanum* there is a form for blessing a cup of wine on the feast of S. John the Evangelist, in which God is asked to grant that all who drink of that cup, offering themselves in body and soul, "*ab omni culpa liberentur* [2]."

It is clear from these examples that Western churches claimed for themselves the power to institute sacramentals, which purported to obtain *per modum impetrationis* "propitiation unto eternal life," "remission of sins," "deliverance from guilt," "the grace of the eternal reward," "the strengthening of faith, the increase of charity, the security of hope, and perfect assurance of obtaining eternal salvation." I am not discussing the wisdom of using such forms, but only noting the fact that they were used.

Besides other substances that have been

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 997. [2] *Rituale Rom.* p. 421.

mentioned, oil also was hallowed for various purposes.

There was the *Oleum Infirmorum*, which, as it was used in the first seven or eight centuries, must be regarded as a sacramental rather than as the matter of a sacrament. It was blessed for the physical healing of body and mind: and its use is sanctioned by the Apostle S. James.

Then there is the *Oleum Catechumenorum*, about which very strong things are said in the Gelasian form for exorcizing it, a form which is to be found also, though with its grammar corrected, in the Roman Pontifical. I quote from the corrected edition the following expressions:—

"Exorcizo te, creatura olei, . . . ut divinis sacramentis purificata fias in adoptionem carnis et spiritus, eis qui ex te ungendi sunt, in remissionem omnium peccatorum [1]."

These statements may be illustrated by a passage from S. Cyril of Jerusalem's second lecture on the Mysteries:—

"This exorcized oil receives such virtue by the invocation of God and by prayer, as not only to burn and cleanse away the traces of sins, but also to chase away all the invisible powers of the Evil One [2]."

[1] *Pontifical. Rom.* part. iii. p. 73; *cf. Sacramentar. Gelas.* p. 72.

[2] S. Cyrill. Hierosol. *Catech.* xx. *Mystag.* ii. § 3. *Opp.* ed. Ben., 1720, p. 312.

Then, as we have seen, there is the oil blessed in the Eastern Church after Vespers on the Eves of certain Festivals and Sundays for the sanctification of those who use it.

There may possibly have been a similar widely-spread custom of blessing oil, not specially for the sick or for catechumens, but for the faithful generally, in the West, though I have found no traces of it in the Roman Sacramentaries [1]. There is, however, a form for blessing such oil in the Bobbio Missal, a document to which I must call the attention of the reader. It is a liturgical book of great interest, discovered in the library of the famous monastery at Bobbio by Mabillon, and published by him in the first volume of the *Museum Italicum*. He entitled it not very happily the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*. But Dom Cagin and Mr. Edmund Bishop have lately taught us to regard it as a Missal of *Irish provenance* [2]. The MS. (Bibliothèque

[1] My impression is that the form for exorcizing and blessing *Oleum Simplex*, which is to be found in the *Rituale Romanum*, and is printed above, in Appendix I on pp. 340–2, is really a Gallican or Milanese form for blessing *Oleum Infirmorum*, which continued to be used by priests as a sacramental, after the consecration of the *Oleum Infirmorum* had been strictly reserved to bishops, and the Roman form for consecrating it had been adopted for use in Gaul and in North Italy, and the Unction of the sick had ceased to be regarded as a sacramental, but had become in men's minds a sacrament in the scholastic sense of the word.

[2] See Dom Cagin's deeply interesting but very confused *Avant-Propos* (pp. 126–77), prefixed to the Solesmes edition of the manuscript Ambrosian antiphonary be-

Nationale, No. 13246) in which this Missal is preserved, is assigned to the seventh century by the high authority of M. Léopold Delisle. The Missal, though of Irish origin, contains Roman, Gallican, and Mozarabic elements as well as Irish ones [1]; but Mr. Bishop holds that the specifically Irish element more especially predominates in the later section of the book, from p. 354 onwards in the *Museum Italicum*. At the very end of the MS. is a short Penitential, which concludes with two forms of precatory absolution, and is followed by three short sections, the first of which sets forth certain reasons for the institution of the various canonical hours, the second is on the Apostles' Creed, and the third on the Canon of Scripture. Otherwise the whole book is liturgical.

The last three and a half pages in the liturgical portion of the book contain a medley collection of various benedictions and prayers, a list of which is here given. There is (1) a

longing to the British Museum (*Paléographie Musicale*, tome v.). See also Mr. Bishop's Liturgical Note in Dom Kuypers's edition of the *Book of Cerne*, p. 239. It was Lesley who first introduced the name of Bobbio into the title of this document; and it was Dr. Neale and Mr. G. H. Forbes who corrected Mabillon's mistake, and called it a Missal instead of a Sacramentary; but it was Mgr. Duchesne, who combined the two corrections, and first devised the title—"The Bobbio Missal." The reader will remember that Bobbio was founded by the great Irish missionary abbot, S. Columbanus, in the year 613. It was in its early days essentially an Irish monastery, following Irish customs, though geographically it was situated in Lombardy.

[1] Cf. *loc. cit.*

Blessing of anything offered in church; (2) a Blessing of a Chalice, Paten and *Turris*[1]; (3) a Blessing on one who has come to church to be there shaved for the first time; (4) a Blessing on a well; (5) a Blessing to be used when anything unclean has fallen into a vessel; (6) a Blessing of palm-branches and olive-branches on the altar; (7) a Blessing on a lamb, for use at Easter; (8) a Blessing on any kind of fruit; (9) Grace before meat; (10) Grace after meat; (11) Evening prayers; (12) Morning prayers; (13) an Exorcism and a Blessing of oil. The morning and evening prayers seem for the most part to be of Roman origin. At any rate out of eleven collects, of which some are to be used in the morning and the rest in the evening, ten are to be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary. But of the prayers, which come under the other eleven headings in the list printed above, only those under the headings numbered (8) and (9) are Roman. The rest, including the Exorcism and Blessing of the oil, are not found, as far as I am aware, in any other liturgy of equal antiquity[2], and are pre-

[1] The *Turris* was a pyx, shaped in the form of a diminutive tower, for holding the reserved Sacrament.

[2] Two of them, viz. (1) and (2), are, it is true, found in a late form of the *Gregorianum*, but the style of their composition seems to show that they are not of Roman origin; (6) is found in a Narbonne Pontifical of the fourteenth century, and in some other French liturgical books of that date (see Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*, tom. iii. coll. 197, 198).

sumably Irish. The two prayers connected with the oil run thus :—

"*Exorcismum Olei.*

Exorcizo te, spiritus immundissime, per Deum Patrem omnipotentem et IESUM Christum Filium eius Dominum nostrum : ut omnis virtus adversarii, omnes exercitus diaboli, omne phantasma, eradicetur et effugiat ab hac creatura olei [1] ; et sit ei qui ex hac creatura olei contingitur, ubicunque in membris illius tetigerit vel perfusus fuerit, Domino auxiliante, benedictionem percipiat, et vitam aeternam percipere mereatur.

*Benedictio Olei.*

Rex gloriae maiestatis tuae, Domine Deus, benedic hanc creaturam olei, et sanctifica eam. Infunde illam a rore coelesti spiritu sanctitatis ; ut cuiuscunque corpus vel membrum ex eo fuerit linitum vel perfusum, salutaris gratiam et peccatorum veniam et sanitatem coelestem consequi mereatur. Per Dominum nostrum IESUM Christum [2]."

It will be noticed that there is nothing in these forms, or in their headings, or in the collection of miscellaneous prayers of which they form a part, which would tend to connect this oil either with the catechumens or with

[1] The first half of this exorcism is a common form found with small variations in detail in many exorcisms.

[2] *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, ed. Neale and Forbes, p. 365 ; and Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* tom. i. p. 392.

the sick. The oil is not called the *Oleum Catechumenorum* or the *Oleum Infirmorum*, nor is there in this concluding section of the Bobbio Missal any Baptismal Service, or any Order for the Visitation of the sick. There is a *Missa pro aegrotis* in an earlier part of the Missal, at a distance of nearly sixty pages from these forms of exorcism and blessing [1]. In that *Missa* the Epistle is the *pericope* from S. James's Epistle, containing the injunction to anoint and pray over the sick (Jas. v. 14–18); and the Gospel contains the account of the healing of S. Peter's wife's mother (Luke iv. 38–40). Out of the five special prayers of this Mass, one, the *Collectio ad Pacem*, makes no mention of the sick man; the remaining four, among which are included the *Collectio post nomina* and the *Contestatio* or Preface, are entirely taken up with intercessory pleadings for the sick man; but the petitions are, all of them, directed towards the one end of impetrating for him the restoration of his bodily health. Nothing is said in them about the remission of sins or any other sanctifying grace. The wording of the *Contestatio* is partly based on the Epistle and Gospel. There is for example, an allusion in it to S. Peter's wife's mother; and the following passage contains an obvious reference to the wording of the Epistle:—"*Alleva* eum, Domine, de strato doloris sui, ut *salvus* atque

[1] Neale and Forbes, pp. 308, 309; and Mabillon, *Mus. It.* i. 351, 352.

incolomis in ecclesia tibi ore David dicere possit, Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me, per Christum Dominum nostrum." In the Epistle we read:—"et oratio fidei *salvabit* infirmum, et *allevabit* eum Dominus." It is, I think, clear that the composer of the *Contestatio* understood the *salvabit* and *allevabit* of S. James to refer to bodily healing.

Returning now to consider the forms for exorcizing and blessing oil which occur at the end of the Bobbio Missal, it is to be noted that the hope is expressed in these forms, that those who are anointed with the oil may receive "eternal life," "the grace of salvation," "the pardon of sins," and "heavenly health." Such petitions were, as we have seen, not uncommon in other benedictions of salt, water, wine, and oil, which were to be used as sacramentals by the faithful generally, whether whole or sick, and in some cases by catechumens. But I know no benediction of the *Oleum Infirmorum* at all resembling this Irish one.

I see that, although Dom Mabillon published this Bobbio Missal in the *Museum Italicum* in 1687, and his brother and colleague in the Congregation of Saint Maur, Dom Martene, published his *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* in 1700–2, the latter, when giving a collection of forms for blessing the *Oleum Infirmorum* [1],

[1] Cf. Martene, *op. cit.* lib. iv. cap. xxii. § iii, tom. iii. coll. 243 268. Martene was, of course, well acquainted with the Bobbio Missal. In tom. i. coll. 40, 41 he prints

makes no reference to this form in the Bobbio Missal. He evidently regarded it as having no connexion with the Unction of the sick. And I have no doubt that he was right. Moreover, I have never noticed any reference to this Bobbio form in any Roman Catholic treatise on Extreme Unction.

If the Bobbio form of blessing oil is finally determined to be of Irish *provenance*[1], it will afford an interesting proof that in Ireland and in Irish monasteries on the continent oil was blessed in the sixth and seventh centuries as a sacramental for general use, apart from any special connexion with the Unction of the sick.

from it an *Ordo ad Christianum Faciendum*, and he makes extracts from it and references to it in other parts of his monumental work.

[1] It is to be hoped that light will be thrown on this matter, when the Benedictines of Solesmes publish their promised edition of the Bobbio Missal.

# APPENDIX IV.

## The Section of the Second Capitulare of Theodulf of Orleans, which deals with the Unction of the Sick (see p. 195).

The second *Capitulare* of Theodulf of Orleans seems to me to be a document of great importance for the history of the transformation of the primitive Unction of the sick for purposes of healing, into the mediaeval sacrament of Extreme Unction. I therefore print in this Appendix the whole of that section of the *Capitulare*[1] which deals with the subject of Unction. I follow Migne's text (*P. L.* cv. 220–222), correcting it occasionally from the text printed in Mansi's edition of the *Miscellanea* of Baluze (tom. ii. pp. 103, 104). The earlier part of the *Capitulare* is, for the most part, taken up with the promulgation of rules concerning the penances to be imposed on persons who have fallen into various kinds of sin. The section on Unction, which is con-

[1] The second *Capitulare* of Theodulf was published by Baluze in his *Miscellanea*, from an ancient MS. belonging to the Church of S. Martial at Limoges.

siderably shorter, reaches nearly to the end of the *Capitulare*. It runs as follows:—

'Admonendi etiam sunt sacerdotes de unctione infirmorum et poenitentia et viatico, ne aliquis sine viatico moriatur. Sed et si quis poenitentiam in infirmitate quaerit, dum sacerdos ad eum venerit, si contigerit eum officio linguae privari, constitutum est ut idonei viri illi qui cum ab eo initio infirmitatis fuerunt vera testimonia dicant quae ab illo audierunt dum loqui poterat, sive de poenitentia, sive de barba tondenda, sive de monachatu. Et tunc sacerdos commonitus officium circa eum adimpleat, et fideiussoribus eius poenitentiam eius pro eo imponat, et illi pro eo adimpleant.

Episcopus vero si ita fuerit infirmatus ut eum ungi liceat, et alter episcopus non sit praesens qui ei officium adimpleat unctionis, presbytero licet eum unctionis officio consecrare. Nulla enim in primo tempore praedicationis apostolorum distantia fuit inter episcopos et presbyteros; nec adhuc esset, nisi causa dissensionis haereticorum diversa docebant et contraria sibi multi presbyteri.

Primitus autem infirmo poenitentia detur. Deinde si permiserit infirmitas, abluto corpore, albis vestibus induatur, et in ecclesiam deportetur, et iaceat in cilicio superiecto cinere. Portetur ibi crux et aqua benedicta, et cum venerint ad eum, videlicet tres presbyteri, dicant capitulum: *Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea. Pax ingredientibus*

*et egredientibus in nomine Domini.* Deinde fundat sacerdos de oleo sacrato in aquam benedictam [1], et spargat eam dicens antiphonam: *Benedic. Domine, domum istam et omnes habitantes in ea; quoniam tu, Domine, dixisti: Pax huic domui,* &c. *Benedic, Domine, timentes te pusillos cum maioribus. Benedicti vos a Domino, qui fecit coelum et terram.* Et iterum dicat antiphonam: *Asperges me, Domine. hyssopo,* &c. Et data oratione cinerem sacratum imponat capiti et pectori infirmi in crucis modum dicens: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo donec reverteris in terram de qua sumptus es. Pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris.* Deinde incipiant septem psalmos poenitentiales pro eo. Et, si potest, infirmus stet genibus flexis et capite inclinato sive omni corpore prostratus. Post letaniam dicta oratione incipiat unctionem canentibus caeteris psalmos et antiphonam congruentes, et faciat de oleo super eum duodecim [2] signa crucis, hoc est: primum inter scapulas magnam crucem usque ad collum et ex transverso usque super scapulas cum oratione, deinde in collo usque ad cervicem; tertiam super caput usque ad frontem in transverso ab aure usque ad aurem; deinde quartam et

[1] So in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 287) at the end of an elaborate form for the "Benedictio aquae spargendae in domo," there occurs the following rubric:—"*Post haec mittis oleo sanctificato in aqua, et sic aspergis ea cum hyssopo per domus.*"

[2] It seems as if this word had been written by mistake for "quindecim."

quintam in visu, hoc est, in superciliis oculorum; sextam in olfactu, id est, in naso sive in naribus; septimam in gustu, hoc est, in labiis; octavam et nonam crucem in auditu, id est, in auribus deforis; decimam in gutture, undecimam in pectore, duodecimam et decimam tertiam in tactu, id est, in unaquaque manu deforis, reliquas duas in pedibus. Hoc autem numero quindenario facimus cruces de oleo sancto super hominem infirmum propter Trinitatis mysterium et quinque sensuum significationem. Terni enim quinquies quindecim perficiunt. Et qui per imparem numerum saepius sanctificare solitum est, quidam viginti [1] cruces facere super infirmum volunt, quidam ex quatuor, id est, tres inter scapulas, tres super scapulas, tres in collo, in cervice, in cerebro; tres in fronte et superciliis tres naribus et labiis, duas in auribus, duas in gutture et pectore, duas in manibus, duas in pedibus. Quidam addunt duas in temporibus, duas in manibus interius faciunt. Quidam in fronte ullius nec in manibus sacerdotis interius crucem de oleo facere oportere dicunt. Sed tamen nil obest. Episcopus enim non oleum infirmorum, sed chrisma frontibus omnium baptizatorum et manibus sacerdotum imponit. Nam pectus et inter scapulas baptizatis crucem faciendo de oleo exorcizato, non de oleo infirmorum, presbyter tangit ante baptismum. Itaque nil obesse videmus eadem loca tangi in unctione infirmi de oleo infirmorum. Apostoli autem ungentes

[1] It seems as if the words "tres et" ought to be inserted before the word "viginti."

oleo infirmos non amplius quam tres cruces cum oleo super eos faciebant. Unde Graeci, qui ipsam traditionem apostolorum imitantur, similiter tres tantum cruces cum oleo faciunt, fundentes cum ampulla oleum infirmorum in crucis modum super caput et vestimenta et totum corpus infirmi, incipientes crucem a capite usque ad pedes, in transverso a manu dextera usque ad brachia, et pectus usque ad sinistram manum, semel dicentes ad ipsas tres cruces: *Ungo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ut oratio fidei salvet te, et alleviet te Dominus, et si in peccatis sis, remittantur tibi.* Illa autem vestimenta oleo superfusa quibus infirmandus [*sic*] non sepeliuntur, et si convaluerit, abluuntur in loco mundo, et iterum utitur eis. Non solum autem clericis, sed etiam laicis, nec tantum viris, sed et feminis, unctio talis tribuenda, si necesse fuerit; quia quosdam sanctos viros legimus puellas paralyticas oleo sancto unxisse et sanasse. Energumenos etiam legimus oleo sancto perunctos et sanatos. Ideo si infirmus in amentiam versus, tamen iuxta concilium Arausicense[1] omne officium pietatis exhibeatur ei, et ipsa communio, si tamen in sua sanitate catholicam fidem credebat. Sic enim in eo concilio habetur scriptum: *Amentibus quaecunque sunt pietatis conferantur.* Et rite in hora quia subito obmutescens baptizari aut poenitentiam accipere potest, si voluntatis

[1] The reference is to the 13th canon of the first Council of Orange, held in 441 (Coleti, iv. 704).

praeteritae testimonia iusta fuerint. Sic quandiu vita apparet in infirmo, commendari omnibus officiis pietatis poterit, etiamsi testimonia voluntatis eius defuerint. Pro fide tamen amicorum omnia ei debent impendi sacramentorum adiutoria, exemplo evangelico, ubi IESUS non ad paralytici sed ad illorum qui eum portabant fidem respiciens ait: *Homo, dimittuntur tibi peccata tua.* Hoc autem omnibus modis observari oportet, ut post mortem communio eucharistiae in os cadaveris [non] immittatur aliquo intuitu misericordiae, quod prohibent valde canones. Sola poenitentia ab amicis pro mortuo potest post mortem eius accipi, si tanta in eis fuerit charitas.

Ipsis quoque pueris necessaria est inunctio, cum legamus nonnullos virorum sanctorum oleo membra puerorum unxisse sacrato et ad sanitatem pristinam revocasse. Nam poenitentia pueris adeo videtur necessaria ut legamus quosdam pueros pro meritis peccatorum ministris Satanae traditos, et absque poenitentia interierunt.

Sicut autem iam diximus, ita licitum est presbyteris episcopos ungere in infirmitate, ut Carthaginense concilium presbyteris concedat fideles chrismate confirmare more episcoporum, si tamen in periculo mortis aliquem viderint qui ab episcopo chrismate sancto [? non] fuerit confirmatus[1]. Similiter de re-

[1] Among the extant acts of Carthaginian councils, I am not aware of any that contain a permission to presbyters to confirm dying persons. But a certain

conciliatione poenitentium in periculo mortis eis conceditur. Presbyteri enim, licet pontificatus apicem non habeant, tamen secundi episcopi sunt.

Uncto vero infirmo cum orationibus, ut dictum est, iubeatur a sacerdote orationem Dominicam et symbolum dicere et spiritum suum in manus Dei commendare et signaculo crucis se munire et viventibus valedicere. Tunc sacerdos det ei pacem et communicet eum, dicens:—*Corpus et sanguis Domini sit tibi remissio omnium peccatorum tuorum, et custodiat te in vitam aeternam.* Tunc data oratione, in fine dicat sacerdos:—*Benedicamus Domino.* Et respondeant omnes:—*Deo gratias;*

deacon named John, who must have lived in the beginning of the sixth century, after laying down in a letter to the patrician, Senarius, the rule that the chrism can only be consecrated by bishops, adds:—"Sed nec illud tangat animum, quod sibi aliquando quaedam vis necessitatis assumit, veluti *(quod nunc per Africam fieri dicitur) ut presbyteri sanctum chrisma conficiant*: quod merito moveret, si istam pontificalis auctoritas licentiam non dedisset. Unde constat etiam nunc a pontificibus quodammodo fieri, quod in tanta rerum necessitate, ut a presbyteris effici possit, superior ordo constituit." (Ioann. Diac. *Epist. ad Senarium*, cap. viii, *P. L.* lix. 404). Obviously, if the African priests were allowed at that time to consecrate the chrism, they must *a fortiori* have been allowed to administer it in the sacrament of Confirmation. When this letter to Senarius was written, the African Church was undergoing a terrible persecution at the hands of the Arian Vandals. Very possibly Theodulf had access to the acts of some Carthaginian Council which, under the circumstances of the persecution, gave permission to the presbyters to consecrate the chrism, and administer it to unconfirmed persons in danger of death.

et expletum est. In crastino et usque ad septem dies visitet eum sacerdos, et fundat super eum orationes ad hoc congruentes."

This section of Theodulf's *Capitulare* shows that various customs in regard to details connected with the Unction of the sick had been previously in use in different parts of the Frankish Church. There were differences as to the number of crosses to be made with the oil, and as to the parts of the body to be anointed. And in some places it had been thought wrong to anoint the forehead of a person who had been confirmed, and to anoint the palms of the hands of a priest. Others, with whom Theodulf ranged himself, took no account of these prohibitions.

These differences of detail may well have grown up in the West in the days when only the primitive Jacobean Unction was used. They certainly did not come to the West from the East, where only three crosses were made with the oil in Theodulf's time, and it was claimed that in this matter the Greeks followed the practice of the Apostles.

But Theodulf shows clearly that he regards the Unction as a channel of sanctifying grace, meant primarily to prepare people for death; though he also recognizes its curative purpose.

His *Capitulare* supplies at least three proofs that he regarded the Unction as a sacrament and as primarily a sacrament for the dying.

(1) The last paragraph of that part of the

*Capitulare* which is printed above, directs the sick man, after being anointed, to bid farewell to the living.

(2) Theodulf quotes approvingly the form of words used by the Greeks in the administration of Unction, which plainly expresses the belief that the Unction was to be administered for the remission of sins.

(3) He orders *fifteen* or *three times five* crosses to be made with the oil, to symbolize the Trinity and *the five senses*. The special mention of the five senses connects his rules with the teaching of the mediaeval Latin theologians who emphasized the anointing of the organs of the five senses; as S. Thomas says (*Summ. Theol.* suppl. part iii. qu. 32. art. 6 in corp.):—"Ubi est in nobis prima origo peccati, ibi debet medicina adhiberi: ideo inunguntur loca quinque sensuum." S. Thomas adds:—"Illa unctio ab omnibus observatur quae fit ad quinque sensus, quasi de necessitate sacramenti; sed quidam non servant alias." It would not be natural to refer to the five senses in an explanation of Jacobean Unction. Their mention indicates that Theodulf had in view sacramental Unction.

# APPENDIX V.

## The Tridentine Decree on Extreme Unction.

As there have been not a few references in the preceding pages to the Tridentine decree *de Sacramento Extremae Unctionis*, it has seemed to me that it would be well to print that decree at full length in this Appendix. The decree was enacted at the fourteenth session of the Council, which was held on November 25, 1551, and is thus worded:

"Visum est autem sanctae synodo, praecedenti doctrinae de poenitentia adiungere ea, quae sequuntur de sacramento extremae unctionis, quod non modo poenitentiae, sed et totius christianae vitae, quae perpetua poenitentia esse debet, consummativum existimatum est a patribus. Primum itaque circa illius institutionem declarat, et docet, quod clementissimus Redemptor noster, qui servis suis quovis tempore voluit de salutaribus remediis adversus omnia omnium hostium tela esse prospectum, quemadmodum auxilia maxima in sacramentis aliis praeparavit, quibus Christiani conservare se integros, dum viverent, ab omni graviori spiritus incommodo possint, ita extremae unctionis sacramento finem vitae, tamquam firmissimo quodam praesidio, muni-

vit. Nam etsi adversarius noster occasiones per omnem vitam quaerat, et captet, ut devorare animas nostras quoquo modo possit: nullum tamen tempus est, quo vehementius ille omnes suae versutiae nervos intendat ad perdendos nos penitus, et a fiducia etiam, si possit, divinae misericordiae deturbandos, quam cum impendere nobis exitum vitae prospicit.

## CAPUT I.

*De institutione sacramenti extremae unctionis.*

Instituta est autem sacra haec unctio infirmorum tamquam vere, et proprie sacramentum novi testamenti a Christo Domino nostro apud Marcum quidem insinuatum, per Iacobum autem Apostolum, ac Domini fratrem, fidelibus commendatum ac promulgatum. *Infirmatur* inquit, *quis in vobis, inducat presbyteros ecclesiae, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini: et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum: et alleviabit eum Dominus; et, si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei.* Quibus verbis, ut ex apostolica traditione, per manus accepta, ecclesia didicit, docet materiam, formam, proprium ministrum, et effectum huius sacramenti. Intellexit enim ecclesia materiam esse oleum, ab episcopo benedictum. Nam unctio aptissime Spiritus sancti gratiam, qua invisibiliter anima aegrotantis inungitur, repraesentat: formam deinde esse illa verba, per istam unctionem, &c.

CAPUT II.

*De effectu huius sacramenti.*

Res porro, et effectus huius sacramenti illis verbis explicatur:—*Et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum; et alleviabit eum Dominus; et, si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei.* Res etenim haec gratia est Spiritus sancti; cuius unctio delicta, si qua sint adhuc expianda, ac peccati reliquias abstergit; et aegroti animam alleviat, et confirmat, magnam in eo divinae misericordiae fiduciam excitando; qua infirmus sublevatus et morbi incommoda, ac labores levius fert; et tentationibus daemonis, calcaneo insidiantis, facilius resistit; et sanitatem corporis interdum, ubi saluti animae expedierit, consequitur.

CAPUT III.

*De ministro huius sacramenti, et tempore, quo dari debeat.*

Iam vero, quod attinet ad praescriptionem eorum, qui et suscipere, et ministrare hoc sacramentum debent, haud obscure fuit illud etiam in verbis praedictis traditum. Nam et ostenditur illic, proprios huius sacramenti ministros, esse ecclesiae presbyteros. Quo nomine eo loco, non aetate seniores, aut primores in populo intelligendi veniunt, sed aut episcopi, aut sacerdotes ab ipsis rite

ordinati per impositionem manuum presbyteri. Declaratur etiam, esse hanc unctionem infirmis adhibendam, illis vero praesertim, qui tam periculose decumbunt, ut in exitu vitae constituti videantur: unde et sacramentum exeuntium nuncupatur. Quod si infirmi post susceptam hanc unctionem convaluerint: iterum huius sacramenti subsidio iuvari poterunt, cum in aliud simile vitae discrimen inciderint. Quare nulla ratione audiendi sunt, qui contra tam apertam, et dilucidam Apostoli Iacobi sententiam docent, hanc unctionem vel figmentum humanum, vel ritum a patribus acceptum, nec mandatum Dei, nec promissionem gratiae habentem: et qui illam iam cessasse asserunt, quasi ad gratiam curationum duntaxat in primitiva ecclesia referenda esset: et qui dicunt, ritum, et usum, quem sancta Romana ecclesia in huius sacramenti administratione observat, Iacobi Apostoli sententiae repugnare, atque ideo in alium commutandum esse: et denique qui hanc extremam unctionem a fidelibus sine peccato contemni posse affirmant. Haec enim omnia manifestissime pugnant cum perspicuis tanti Apostoli verbis. Nec profecto ecclesia Romana, aliarum omnium mater, et magistra, aliud in hac administranda unctione, quantum ad ea, quae huius sacramenti substantiam perficiunt, observat, quam quod beatus Iacobus praescripsit. Neque vero tanti sacramenti contemptus absque ingenti scelere, et ipsius Spiritus sancti iniuria esse posset.

Haec sunt, quae de poenitentiae[1] et extremae unctionis sacramentis sancta haec oecumenica synodus profitetur, et docet, atque omnibus Christi fidelibus credenda, et tenenda proponit. Sequentes autem canones inviolabiliter servandos esse tradit; et asserentes contrarium, perpetuo damnat, et anathematizat[2]."

I omit here the fifteen canons on Penance, and subjoin the four canons on Extreme Unction.

"*De sacramento Extremae Unctionis.*

CANON I.

Si quis dixerit, extremam unctionem non esse vere, et proprie sacramentum, a Christo Domino nostro institutum, et a beato Iacobo Apostolo promulgatum, sed ritum tantum acceptum a patribus, aut figmentum humanum; anathema sit.

CANON II.

Si quis dixerit, sacram infirmorum unctionem non conferre gratiam, nec remittere peccata, nec alleviare infirmos: sed iam cessasse, quasi olim tantum fuerit gratia curationum; anathema sit.

[1] The decree on Extreme Unction is preceded by a decree on Penance. Both decrees were enacted at the same fourteenth session.

[2] *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini iuxta exemplar authenticum Romae M.D. LXIII. editum,* opera et studio Iudoci Le Plat, 1779, pp. 145–148.

CANON III.

Si quis dixerit, extremae unctionis ritum, et usum, quem observat sancta Romana ecclesia, repugnare sententiae beati Iacobi Apostoli, ideoque eum mutandum, posseque a Christianis absque peccato contemni; anathema sit.

CANON IV.

Si quis dixerit, presbyteros ecclesiae, quos beatus Iacobus adducendos esse ad infirmum ungendum hortatur, non esse sacerdotes, ab episcopo ordinatos, sed aetate seniores, in quavis communitate; ob idque proprium extremae unctionis ministrum non esse solum sacerdotem; anathema sit[1]."

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 152.

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